



A CRITICAL STUDY
OF THE SOURCES
OF
KALIDAS

B. R. YADAV

B
Bhawathi

A CRITICAL STUDY OF
THE SOURCES OF KALIDASA

A Critical Study of THE SOURCES OF KALIDASA

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*Dedicated to the memory
of
My Mother*

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ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ait. Br.	Aitareya Brahmana, Dr. P.K.Pillai, Trivendram
Ath. Ved.	Atharvaveda, Ajamer 1969.
Ap. Gr. Su.	Apastamba Grhya Sutra, Chowkhamba.
Asv. Gr. Su.	Asvalayana Grhya Sutra, Ganapati Krsna Press, Bombay 1900
Ap. Ih. Su.	Apastamba Dharma Sutra, Chowkhamba 1940
Agni.	Agni Purana, Manasukh Roy more Calcutta
Ast.	Astadhyayi Varanasi 1964
Bhar. Gr. Su.	Bharadvaja Grhya Sutra, H.J.W. Salomons, Litt. D. Leyden 1913
Bau. Dh. Su.	Baudhayana Dharma Sutra, Chowkhamba 1938
Br. Su.	Brahma Sutra, Nirnaya Sagar Press Bombay
Br.	✓Brahma Purana, Manasukh Roy More Calcutta
Brah.	✓Brahmanda Purana, Anandasrama 1956
Br. Vai.	✓Brahma Vaivarta, Manasukh Roy More Cal.
Bhav.	✓Bhavisyata Puran, Khemaraja Sri Krsnadass, Bombay Sam. 1959
Car. Sam.	Caraka Samhita, Nirnay Sagar, Bombay 1867
Dev. Bha.	✓Devi Bhagavata Purana, Manasukh Roy More, Calcutta 1960
Div.	Divyavadana, Cowell and Niel
Gita.	Bhagavadgita, Gita Press Gorakhpur Sam. 1988
Go. Br.	Gopatha Brahmana, Venkatesvara Press Bombay Sam. 1983
Go. Gr. Su.	Gobhila Grhya Sutra, Muzaffer Pur, 1906
Gau. Dh. Su.	Gautama Dharma Sutra, Muzaffer Pur 1906
Hari.	✓Harivamsa Purana, Khemaraja Srikrasnadassa Bombay Sam. 1954
Hir. Gr. Su.	Hiranyakesi Grhya Sutra, Dr. J. Kirste, Vienna,
His. Dh. Sa.	History of Dharma Sastra, Poona 1962
Jai. Br.	Jaiminiya Brahmana, Nagpur 1950
Jat.	Jatakas, Professor E.B. Cowell.
Kas. Sam.	Kasyapa Samhita, Nirnaya Sagar Bombay 1931
Kh. Gr. Su.	Khadira Grhya Sutra, Muzaffer Pur 1934
Kath. Gr. Su.	Kathaka Grhya Sutra, Dr. W. Caland, Lahore
Kau. Su.	Kausika Sutra, M. Bloomfield, New Haven, 1890
Kath. Up.	Kathopanisad, Gita Press Gorakhpur
Kau. Up.	Kausitaki Upanisad, Gita Press Gorakhpur
Ku.	Kumarasambhava, Chowkhamba 1968
Kau. Ar. Sa.	Kautalya Artha Sastra, Chowkhimbha, 1970
Ka. Su.	Kamasutra, Chowkhamba 1968
Ling.	✓Linga Purana, Manasukh Roy More, Calcutta

Sources of Kalidasa

Mai. Sam.	Maitrayani Samhita, Dr. L.V. Schroeder Leipzig 1913.
Mal.	<u>Malavikagnimitram</u> , M.R. Kale Bombay
Man. Gr. Su.	Manava Grhya Sutra, Mysore 1920
Manu.	Manu Smrti, Chowkhamba 1966
Mai. Up.	Maitrayani Upanisad, Motilal Banarsi Das Delhi
Matsya.	✓ Matsya Purana, Manasukh Roy More, Calcutta
Mar.	✓ Markandeya Purana, " " " "
Maha.	Mahabharata, Gita Press, Gorakhpur
Maha. Bhas.	Mahabhasya, Ajamer 1962
Megh.	<u>Meghadutam</u> , M.R. Kale Varanasi 1969
Mi. Da.	Mimamsa Darsanam, Chowkhamba 1957
Par. Gr. Su.	Paraskara Grhya Sutra, Kasi Sam. 1952
Padma.	✓ Padma Purana, Manasukh Roy More, Calcutta
Pu. Vi.	✓ Purana Vimarsa, Chowkhamba, 1965
Ra.	<u>Raghuvamsa</u> , Chowkhamba 1968
Rama.	Ramayana, Gita Press Gorakhpur
Rtu.	Ritusamhara, M.R. Kale Varanasi 1967
Sad. Br.	Sadvimsha Brahmana, Jiwanand Calcutta, 1881
Sat. Br.	Satapatha Brahmana, Venkatesvar Press, Bombay Sam. 1983
Sak.	<u>Abhijnana Sakuntalam</u> , M.R. Kale Varanasi
Susr.	✓ Susruta Samhita, Jivananda Vidyasagar Calcutta
Sam. Gr. Su.	Samkhyanaya Grhya Sutra, Girija Shanker Baroda 1942
Sam. Su.	Samkhya Sutra, Chowkhamba
Svet. Up.	Svetasvatara Upanisad, Gita Press, Gorakhpur
Skarda-	✓ Skanda Purana, Manasukh Roy More, Calcutta
Si. Pu.	✓ Siva Purana, Khemaraja Sri Krsnadass, Bombay Sam. 1961
Sam. Rat.	Samgita Ratnakara, Nirnaya Sagar 1951
Tan. Ma. Br..	Tandya Maha Brahmana, Chowkhamba
Tai. Sam.	Taittiriya Samhita, A. Mahadev Sastri Mysore
Tai. Up.	Taittiriya Upanisad, Gita Press, Gorakhpur
Vai. Gr. Su.	Vaikhana Grhya Sutra, Baroda 1942
Varsa. Gr. Su.	Varaha Grhya Sutra, R. Rama Sastry Baroda
Vasis. Dh. Su.	Vasistha Dharma Sutra, Chowkhamba 1945
Vayu.	✓ Vayu Purana, Manasukh Roy More, Calcutta
Vam. Pu.	✓ Namana Purana, Khemaraja Sri Krsnadass, Bombay Sam. 1957.
Var. Pu.	✓ Naraha Purana, Khemaraja Sri Krsnadass, Bombay Sam. 1961
Visnu.	✓ Visnu Purana, Gita Press Sam. 1918
Vis. Dh. Pu.	✓ Visnudharmottara Purana, Khemaraj Sri Krsna- dass Bombay Sam. 1958
Vik.	<u>Vikramorvashiyam</u> , M.R. Kale, Varanasi 1967
Ved. My.	Vedic Mythology, Macdonell, Delhi
Yo. Va.	Yoga Vasistha, Nirnaya Sagar Bombay

P R E F A C E

Kalidasa has been approached in a two-fold manner. In the first place, he has been sought to be understood through a whole array of commentaries, both ancient and modern, which have usually aimed at only replacing original words with their synonyms, arbitrarily chosen from lexicons. It has been followed, in modern times, by efforts at culling certain ideas from here and there, from amidst the works of the poet, and re-arranging them in a manner so as to present apparently a cogent picture of the mind of the poet. This mode of approach evidently involves more of subjectivity than objectivity. In the second place, there are a number of works aiming at finding out the historical and geographical background of his works with a particular reference to the name of persons, places and objects.

These approaches have proved more of an obstacle than a help in the proper appreciation of Kalidasa. In other words, they have resulted in making Kalidasan criticism either as a set of riddles or as a superstructure of historical data, which, at best, overburdens the aesthetic sensibility of the reader. Both these approaches, thus, do not lead us to appreciate the poet and his art. Like other creations, a literary creation seeks to rebuild itself by the use of material that its age inherits from previous ages. The ascertainment of the raw material utilized by a poet leads finally to the decipherment of his genius. It is from this point of view that, in this work, I have tried to examine what sources Kalidasa has drawn upon. This examination, I hope, will not only lead to the proper appreciation of his genius, but also to a clearer understanding of his works.

In this attempt, on the one hand, I have traced the origins of Kalidasa's different themes and, on the other, I have been able to find out the gradual development of different arts and sciences prevailing in his age. In this work I have also tried to show as to what extent he is indebted to his predecessors. It deals parti-

inheriting

cularly with Kalidasa's acquaintance with the Vedic and Upanisadic literature his close contact with the Grhyasutras, his faith in the Puranic thoughts, his knowledge of dramatic art, and his use of Vatsyayana's aphorisms. Apart from this, his references to the Ayurveda, music, dance, grammar, religion, philosophy, omen and superstition, mantra and tantra have found proper examination in this work. And, sincere attention has been paid to find out the possible sources of these references.

For this work, I am highly indebted to teachers and writers whose ideas, I have studied and at times tried to emulate. In particular, I am highly indebted to my supervisor, Dr. Surya Kanta Ex Professor and Head of the Deptt. of Sanskrit, Kuruksetra University, for his valuable suggestions. I am also indebted to Dr. S.P. Singh, Deptt. of Sanskrit, A.M.U. Aligarh, who enlightened my thoughts and rendered precious guidance from time to time. I am also thankful to Prof. K.S. Srivastava, S.V. College, Aligarh, with whom I discussed a few chapters of this book.

Babu Ram Yadav

BOOK I

SOURCE

CHAPTER I

POEMS

RAGHUVAMSAM

KUMARASAMBHAVAM

RAGHUVAMSAM

*Sa yatha kathitam purvam Naradena Mahatmana.
Raghuvamsasya caritam cakara bhagawan munih.*

Rama, Bal. III. 9,

Raghuvamsa is a poem of 19 cantos. In this poem Kalidasa gives an eloquent and interesting account of the family of Raghu.

In the Vedic literature, we have several names quite in common with the names of the Raghu family—Iksvaku¹, Rama², Dasaratha³ and Sita⁴ etc. But, they do not seem to refer to any historical personages. The *Mahabharata*⁵, the *Puranas*⁶ and *Jatakas*⁷ also have fragmentary accounts of this family. However, the Ramayana of Valmiki is the main source of our information about this family. This epic particularly deals with the life history of Rama. The whole account of Raghuvamsa seems to be based on the Ramayana. We would like to discuss the different aspects of this poem in the sequel.

DILIPA EPISODE

Padma Purana:

First two cantos of *Raghuvamsa* deal with the life of king Dilipa. The whole account of Kalidasa tallies with that of the *Padma Purana*. We may collate both the works in the following manner :

Dilipa was born in the line of Vaivasvata Manu. His queen Sudaksina belonged to the Magadha dynasty. He passed several years of his married life anxiously waiting for a son. But when he was disappointed he decided to consult his preceptor Vasistha. He handed over his all regal responsibilities to his learned councillors and made up his mind to visit the hermitage of Vasistha⁸.

With a view to having a male child, Dilipa and Sudaksina propitiated Brahma and started for the hermitage of Vasistha on a chariot. They reached the hermitage in the evening. They observed that the sacrificial smoke was spreading around the hermitage and was purifying the guests who paid a visit to its grounds⁹.

They saw their preceptor Vasistha sitting with his wife Arundhati. They touched their feet and in return Vasistha and

Arundhati both blessed and welcomed them warmly. After giving a warm reception to Dilipa, Vasistha inquired about the welfare of his kingdom. The king told him that every thing was all right, except that he himself was worried for the sake of a male child¹⁰.

Vasistha meditated over the root cause of his childlessness. Then he narrated the following story :

Once, the king attended Indra in the heaven. When he came back to the earth, he was in hurry to meet his wife who was expected to have taken her menstrual bath by that time. He, therefore, could not pay due respect to Kamadhenu which was sitting beneath the Kalpataru. On account of this offence of the king, Kamadhenu cursed him with childlessness until he propitiated her own offspring. Vasistha further told him that neither he nor his charioteer heard the words of that curse due to the noise produced by the axils of the chariot¹¹.

Then Vasistha advised Dilipa to serve Nandini—the daughter of Kamadhenu. He assured the king that she would certainly bless him with a male child¹². When Vasistha was talking in this way, Nandini returned from the forest. Vasistha conveyed his belief to Dilipa that his wishes were going to be fulfilled in the near future, for Nandini returned from the forest at the very moment her name was uttered. So he asked him to serve her in every possible way and please her by his devotion¹³.

Canto II opens with the cow-grazing of Dilipa. On the next morning, after Nandini was honoured by the queen with Gandha and Mala etc., the king left for the forest along with the cow. On the way, he asked the queen and attendants to return to the hermitage, and assumed the charge of Nandini solely on himself.¹⁴

In the course of serving Nandini, the king kept himself standing when she stood, and kept apace with her when she walked. He kept on sitting whenever she sat, and took water only when she drank it. Thus he followed her like her shadow. Besides, he served her by giving her tasteful grass, by warding mosquitoes off and by relieving irritations in her skin.¹⁵ In the evening while returning from the forest, he and the cow both presented a lovely

scene. Sudaksina received them on the precincts of the hermitage, offered *Candana* and *Aksata* to *Nandini* and paid due respect to her by circumambulation.¹⁶

In this way he passed twenty one days. On the 22nd day, with a view to testing the constancy of Dilipa's devotion, *Nandini* entered the cavern of the Himalayas near the Ganga's fountain, which was full of thickly grown grasses. At that place, while the king was absorbed in observing the beautiful peaks of the mountain, a lion attacked *Nandini* and took her forcibly in his clutches.¹⁷ But when he heard her pitiable bellows, he noticed that a lion was sitting on her. Taking his arrow out of his quiver, the king rushed to the spot. But, to his utter amazement, his hand got stuck to the quiver. The lion, bringing surprise to Dilipa, told him in the human speech that he was an attendant of Siva and was known as 'Kumbhodbhava'. He further told him that he had been appointed a guard of the *Devadaru* tree growing before him by Parvati since the date it was attacked by a wild elephant. He also said that he had been allowed to eat those beasts which attacked that tree.¹⁸

The lion suggested to Dilipa to go back and refrain from putting any objection. Having heard those boastful words of the lion, Dilipa, who had been rendered motionless and was unable to use his arms against the lion, added that although he had much regard for Siva who was considered to be the sole cause of creation, preservation and destruction of the world, he could not tolerate the harm being done to his preceptor's property before his own eyes.¹⁹

So Dilipa proposed to the lion to accept the offer of his (Dilipa's) own body and quit the cow. He argued that, in this way, on the one hand, his hunger would be pacified and, on the other, the religious offerings of the sage would also remain undisturbed. Saying this, Dilipa offered his body to the lion and laid down on the ground awaiting the fatal attack. But, contrary to his expectations, he felt the shower of flowers on his body. He also heard the words "O son get up". Hearing these words, he got up and saw the cow but by no means the lion. Now he was

wonder-struck. Then *Nandini* told him that it was with a view to testing his devotion towards her that she had played a trick upon him and made the illusory lion appear before him. She further told him that by virtue of the grace of Vasistha none could harm her; even the god of death was unable to harm her, not to speak of other beasts.²⁰

Nandini further told Dilipa that she was pleased with him and was ready to grant him any boon he desired. Dilipa asked her kindly to grant him a son. *Nandini* granted it and asked him to milk her in a cup made of leaves and drink it. Hearing this, Dilipa told her humbly that he wanted to drink her milk after the sacrificial offerings of Vasistha had been over and he had solicited the consent of his preceptor.²¹

Then *Nandini* and Dilipa both returned to the hermitage of Vasistha. Dilipa was very much pleased. Seeing him happy, Vasistha guessed that his wishes had already been fulfilled.²² Then Dilipa milked the cow and drank the milk with the consent of Vasistha. Next day by the permission of the sage he returned to his capital.²³

From the above it is evident that the accounts of both the texts—*Padma purana* and *Raghuvamsa* are quite identical and moreover a few phrases are common to both of them²⁴. These facts lead one to infer that either of these texts has borrowed its subject matter from the other. Either Kalidasa took the aid of the Puranic literature in developing the theme of his poem or the Puranic version was borrowed from Kalidasa. Certain facts prove that the compiler of the Purana followed Kalidasa in incorporating this episode. The arguments are as follows :

1. Scholars, like P. V. Kane, do not take the *Padma Purana* as very old. They are of the opinion that the *Padma Purana* borrowed its subject matter from the *Matsya Purana* some time around 1000 A. D.²⁵
2. Several chapters and verses of the *Mahabharata* are quite identical to those of the *Padma Purana*.²⁶ In this case, the *Padma Purana* is the borrower. It seems that the compiler of the Purana took the aid of every authentic literature

available to him, i. e. the *Mahabharata*, the *Matsya Purana* and the works of Kalidasa etc.

3. Being abundantly rich in the Mahatmyas of different Tirthas,²⁷ the *Padma Purana* is, decidedly, a later work.
4. The two versions of the *Padma Purana* differ considerably from each other. It is, therefore, difficult to say which is the authentic one.
5. The Uttara Khanda of the *Padma Purana*, in which the 'Dilipa episode' occurs, deals with the Mahatmyas of different things,²⁸ which seem to be very much later. This episode also, therefore, does not seem to be original.

Thus it is evident that the compiler of the Purana took the help of *Raghuvamsa* while incorporating this episode in the Purana.

Ramayana :

In the *Ramayana*, the *Kamadhenu* is referred to as living in the hermitage of Vasistha.²⁹ She is considered to be endowed with such a power as to produce all sorts of foods and drinks required by her master.³⁰ Once the great warrior Visvamitra paid a visit to the hermitage of Vasistha. The latter gave him a warm reception and expressed his desire to entertain his whole army.³¹ Visvamitra declined to accept his invitation at the first instance. But, when asked repeatedly, he accepted it.³² Vasistha asked *Kamadhenu* to produce all sorts of juices, drinks and foods.³³ *Kamadhenu* obeyed her master and produced different sorts of delicacies. Thus Vasistha entertained the whole of the army of Visvamitra.³⁴ When Visvamitra came to know that the entertainment was made possible with the help of *Kamadhenu*, he felt highly tempted to own her. He asked Vasistha to hand over *Kamadhenu* to him and³⁵ promised to give thousands of cows in exchange. Vasistha, however, expressed his unwillingness and told that he could not give *Kamadhenu* to him at any cost.³⁶ Visvamitra again proposed to give Vasistha thousands of elephants, horses and cows in return, but Vasistha refused to agree to his proposal.³⁷ When refused in this way, Visvamitra tried to carry away *Kamadhenu* forcibly.³⁸ Now *Kamadhenu* felt extremely aggrieved. She returned to Vasistha and asked him why he

was so merciless as to have allowed them to take her away in that manner.³⁹ Vasistha told her that it was not he who was sending her away but it was the king Visvamitra who was carrying her away forcibly.⁴⁰ Hearing this, *Kamadhenu* sought the consent of Vasistha and expressed her firm determination to destroy the whole army of Visvamitra.⁴¹ Vasistha gave approval to her proposal and ordered her to produce different kinds of warriors.⁴² She produced an army of warriors who began to destroy the army of Visvamitra.⁴³ At last, Visvamitra himself came to the battle-field and was defeated.⁴⁴ Then Visvamitra was very much ashamed and disappointed. In great despair, he took to solitude and resolved to practise severe penance with a view to attaining more power to take revenge on Vasistha.⁴⁵

Thus it is evident that the *Kamadhenu*, which belonged to the hermitage of Vasistha, was endowed with such supernatural powers that she might create anything she desired. And in the 'Dilipa episode' we find such a power in her. It is, therefore, legitimate to maintain that Kalidasa took the idea of the episode from the 'Kamadhenu episode' of the *Ramayana*. Besides, the dialogue between the lion and the king bears clear resemblance to the dialogue between Laksmana and Ravana of the *Ramayana*. It is evident from the following.

In the battle-field, when Prahasta was killed, Ravana became extremely enraged.⁴⁶ He rushed to the battle-field quickly and gave a tough fight to Hanumana and others. There Laksmana asked him for a face to face battle with himself and expressed his condemnation of his fighting with monkeys.⁴⁷ In this context, the words of the *Ramayana*-*avehi mam adya nisacarendra*,⁴⁸ *tasya vakyam nisamya*,⁴⁹ *rosanvitam vacam uvaca raksah*,⁵⁰ *garjantam... sitagradamstram*⁵¹ etc. are quite identical with those of Raghuvamsa—*avehi mam kinkaram Astamurteh...*⁵², *mrgadhirajasya vaco nisamya*⁵³ *manusya devo punar apyuvaca*⁵⁴ and *damstramayukhaih... sakalani kurvan*.⁵⁵

Thus, on the ground of the above fact too, it is established that Kalidasa borrowed the idea of the 'Dilipa episode' from the *Ramayana* and not from the *Padma Purana*.

Canto III starts with the pregnancy of Sudaksina. Some verses of this canto, dealing with the symptoms of pregnancy,⁵⁶

are quite similar to those of the *Siva Purana*⁵⁷. Here the Purana, being a later work, is the borrower and the whole canto is Kalidasa's own creation.

CONQUEST OF RAGHU

Canto IV opens with enthronement of Raghu who makes his military expedition just after the end of the rainy season.⁵⁸

The 'Conquest of Raghu' seems to be based on the accounts of the *Mahabharata*.

Mahabharata:

In the *Mahabharata* we have an account of the war which is quite similar to that of Raghu. For instance, in the context of the conquest of Arjuna, we come across the account of the Kingdom of *Pragjyotisa*.⁵⁹ In *Raghuvamsa* also, Raghu conquered *Pragjyotisa* in his military expedition⁶⁰. According to the *Mahabharata* Arjuna in his military expedition proceeds towards the north. There we have the text--*Prayayanu Uttaram tasmat disam Dhanadapalitam*⁶¹, which compares well with that of *Raghuvamsa*--*Tatah pratasthe Kauverim...Raghur disam*.⁶² Besides, in his military expedition Arjuna defeated a hill-tribe named *Utsavasamketas*⁶³. Raghu did the same.⁶⁴ In this context, *Suhmas* and *Colas* were also defeated by Arjuna.⁶⁵ In *Raghuvamsa*, Raghu also crushed them and compelled them to become loyal to him.⁶⁶

According to the *Mahabharata* the *Lauhitya* was conquered by Bhima.⁶⁷ In *Raghuvamsa*, Raghu crossed the river *Lauhitya* with a view to defeating the kings on her bank.⁶⁸ In the *Mahabharata* we have the account that Sahadeva conquered Kalingas.⁶⁹ In *Raghuvamsa*, Raghu also paid a visit to *Kalingas* in the course of his military expedition and had an encounter with them.⁷⁰

Thus we see that in spite of the fact that Kalidasa used his own imagination in depicting such events, he also took the aid of the *Mahabharata* in developing the details of such events.

This canto ends with the end of the military expedition of Raghu⁷¹ who performed a Visvajit yajna in which he sacrificed his entire wealth.⁷²

KAUTSA EPISODE

Canto V opens with the visit of Kautsa. He presented himself in the court of Raghu to ask him for 14 crore pieces of gold which

he had to pay to his *Guru* Varatantu.⁷³ Being himself penniless at that time, Raghu made up his mind to invade Kubera with a view to fulfilling the wishes of Kautsa.⁷⁴ But early in the morning, Raghu had a news that there came a shower of wealth at night in his treasury.⁷⁵ Raghu offered all the pieces of gold to Kautsa, but the latter declined to accept all of them.⁷⁶ He accepted only that amount which he had to give to his teacher. At the time of his departure he blessed the king with a son.⁷⁷

The '*Kautsa episode*' of canto V is Kalidasa's own invention and is intended to provide Raghu with a son. The rest of the canto deals with the life of prince Aja.⁷⁸

PRIYAMVADA EPISODE

Aja, on his way to Vidarbha, took his stoppage at the bank of the river Narmada.⁷⁹ At that time a wild elephant came out of the water of the river and created panic in his army.⁸⁰ Aja shot at the elephant with his arrow and consequently the elephant was transformed into a man.⁸¹ He jumped into the sky and declared that he was a Gandharva named Priyamvada. He further added that he had been cursed by the sage Matangaja and had to live in the form of an elephant,⁸² and that the king had only removed his curse by killing him in that way.⁸³ In return to that favour done to him, Priyamvada gave *Sammohanastra* to Aja⁸⁴ and disappeared.⁸⁵

Kathasaritsagara* :

In the *Kathasaritsagara*, we have a parallel story.⁸⁶ According to it, when in the course of kidnapping Vasavadutta, Udayana rode on the fastest cow-elephant Bhadravati and reached the forest of the 'Vindhya' after completing a journey of 63 Yojanas, he stopped on the way. The elephant was extremely thirsty. So she drank a large quantity of water and passed away. Then Udayana became very much aggrieved. Meanwhile he heard a voice "O king! I am a Vidyadhari named Mayavati; due to the curse of a sage I turned into a cow-elephant, and in my life I helped you in your escape". It went on to say that his would-be wife Vasavadutta also was of divine origin and that she had come to the earth under the compulsion of the curse of a sage.⁸⁷

This story of the *Kathasaritsagara* seems to be the source

of the 'Priyamvada episode' of Kalidasa. We see that the same motif of curse is applied in both the stories. Both the victims belong to the same race of Gandharvas. Both the defaulters are cursed and are changed into elephants. Kalidasa has introduced this episode only with a view to providing Aja with such a miraculous weapon—*Sammohanastra* which might enable him to overpower his enemies in the near future.

SVAYAMVARA OF INDUMATI

Canto VI opens with the *Svayamvara* of Indumati. It depicts different activities of the suitors and ends with the selection of Aja.⁸⁸

Mahabharata :

'Indumati-Svayamvara' of *Raghuvamsa* seems to be designed on the pattern of 'Damayanti-Svayamvara' of the *Mahabharata*.⁸⁹ The *Mahabharata* adds that Bhima, the king of Vidarbha, seeing his daughter—Damayanti grown up, wanted to arrange for her *Svayamvara*.⁹⁰ He invited kings from different part of the country to participate in the *Svayamvara*.⁹¹ A number of suitors arrived at the court of the king with a view to winning the hand of Damayanti. The king gave a warm reception to them.⁹² Indra, Varuna, Yama and Agni also attended the *Svayamvara* of Indumati.⁹³ But Damayanti selected only Nala for whom she had been longing since long.⁹⁴ On the suitable selection of Nala, gods were very much pleased. They granted several boons to the bride and the bridegroom and left for their heavenly abode.⁹⁵

It is interesting to note here that the *Mahabharata* mentions Sunanda also in this context. *Raghuvamsa* mentions her as the maid servant of Indumati,⁹⁶ while the *Mahabharata* mentions her as the girl-friend of Indumati.⁹⁷ The *Mahabharata* adds that Damayanti, when deserted by her husband—Nala, took shelter in the palace of *Cediraja*. In his palace, she lived with his daughter—Sunanda for a long time.⁹⁸ After a long gap, she (Damayanti) was searched out by her father and was taken back to his home.⁹⁹

Kalidasa seems to be highly influenced by the 'Damayanti episode' of the *Mahabharata*, for we see that he introduces even her

girl-friend Sunanda in this context. Besides, the procedure of the *Svayamvara* in *Raghuvamsa* also seems to be the same as that of the *Mahabharata*.

Canto VII describes the marriage ceremony of Aja and Indumati.¹⁰⁰ The account of this canto seems to be based on scriptures.¹⁰¹ This canto ends with the completion of the return journey of Aja.¹⁰²

LAMENTATION OF AJA

Canto VIII starts with the coronation of Aja. The sudden demise of his wife—Indumati, shocked him and he burst into tears.¹⁰³ The *Aja-vilapa* is the main feature of this canto. It seems to be based on the *Ramayana*.

Ramayana :

The *Rama-vilapa* of the *Ramayana*¹⁰⁴ seems to be the main source of the *Aja-vilapa* of *Raghuvamsa*. We see in the *Ramayana* that Rama was very much perturbed when Sita was kidnapped. He burst into tears and began to search for her in the forest. We find the following points quite common in both the texts in this connection :

- (i) Both the lovers complained of their ill-luck when they faced separation from their respective beloveds.¹⁰⁵
- (ii) Both the lovers felt shocked and burst into tears when the incidents took place.¹⁰⁶ In this context, the words—*Vilalapa* and *Vaspagadgadam* are common in both the texts.¹⁰⁷
- (iii) Both the lovers were fed up with their lives and did not want to live any more.¹⁰⁸
- (iv) Both the lovers had complaint against their beloveds for their sudden separation.¹⁰⁹
- (v) Both the lovers tried to remind their beloveds regarding the latters' attachments with trees Ashoka and others.¹¹⁰
- (vi) Both the lovers were given timely consolations by their well-wishers—Rama by Lakshmana and Aja by the disciple of Vasistha.¹¹¹

On the ground of the above statement, it is established that the *Aja-vilapa* of *Raghuvamsa* is based on the *Rama-vilapa* of the *Ramayana*.

RAMAYANA & RAGHUVAMSA

Cantos IX — XV of *Raghuvamsa* are based on the *Ramayana*. The whole account of these chapters may be put as under :

I. Dasaratha's hunting expedition and death of Sravana Kumara:

Once, Dasaratha went on a hunting expedition and killed several beasts in the forest. At night he heard a noise arising out of the water of Yamuna. It appeared to him that an elephant was drinking water. He shot an arrow at the source of the noise. But he was surprised to listen to the voice of a human being instead of the voice of an elephant. Dasaratha rushed to the spot and noticed that the son of a Rsi was hit by his arrow. He was very much afraid of the sin of killing a Brahmana. But the victim, Sravana, informed him that he did not come from a Brahmana family. He further asked Dasaratha to see his (Sravana's) blind parents and convey the sad news to them. Dasaratha acted accordingly and visited his blind parents. He conveyed that news to them. The father of Sravana Kumara was shocked by the news. He was extremely enraged. He cursed Dasaratha that he would also meet the same fate in his old age. At last, with a view to following his son in the heaven the father of Sravana Kumara entered the burning fire.¹¹²

2. Putresti-yajna of Dasaratha :

King Dasaratha ruled for several years and lead a happy married life. But being issueless, he could not enjoy the bliss of conjugal life after some time. He consulted his ministers and decided to perform a *Putresti-yajna* under the supervision of Rsi Srngi. At that time Gods, being teased by the great demon Ravana visited Lord Visnu. They put their grievances before Him. Visnu assured them that He would kill Ravana with His own hands during His incarnation as Rama. In the course of the *Putresti-yajna* of Dasaratha, one day, a heavenly person came out of the sacrificial pit having *Carupatra* in his hand. He handed it over to Dasaratha and asked him to distribute it among his wives. Dasaratha distributed it among his wives. Later on his

queens, gave birth to four children, Rama, Laksmana, Bharata and Satrughna.¹¹³

3. Visvamitra's visit to the court of Dasaratha :

Once, Visvamitra visited the court of Dasaratha and asked for Rama and Laksmana. Dasaratha ordered Rama and Laksmana to go to protect Visvamitra's *yajnas*. On way to the forest, Visvamitra taught them *Vala* and *Ativala* arts which gave indefatigability to their bodies. After some time they met Taraka whom Rama killed under the instruction of Visvamitra. Then Visvamitra was very much pleased with Rama. He gave several divine weapons to Rama as gallantry rewards. He again proceeded towards the hermitage of Vamana, which was known as *Siddhasrama*. There Visvamitra re-started his sacrifice. Rama as the guard of the sacrifice, turned out of the hermitage Marica and Subahu, who wanted to disturb the sacrifice.¹¹⁴

4. Bow-sacrifice:

King Janaka of Mithila decided to perform a *Dhanusa-yajna*. He invited Visvamitra in this *Yajna*. Visvamitra with a view to taking part in the sacrifice, left for Mithila with Rama and Laksmana. On the way, Ahalya, who was in the form of a stone, being touched by the feet of Rama, turned into a human being and got purged of all her sins. When they reached the court of Janaka, Rama expressed his desire to see the bow. He was allowed to see it. When Rama saw it, he wanted to lift it. But, at the time of lifting, it was broken into pieces. According to his promise, Janaka decided to marry his daughter—Sita to Rama. so he sent for Dasaratha who turned up soon in the court of Janaka with his army. Now Rama, along with his other brothers, was married in Mithila. When the marriage ceremony was over, Janaka bid them farewell and they all started for Ayodhya. In the return journey bad omens were visible to them. Meanwhile, Parasurama appeared there. He was highly enraged. He condemned Rama and challenged the latter to show his might by straining his bow. Rama stood the test and overcame Parasurama.¹¹⁵

5. Rama's exile :

When Dasaratha grew old, he decided to hold the coronation ceremony of Rama. Kaikeyi intervened in it and asked Dasaratha

to grant her two boons which he had promised her in the past. She asked that Rama be exiled for 14 years and Bharata be enthroned. When Rama left for the forest against the desire of Dasaratha, the latter breathed his last due to the pangs of separation. Bharata declined to ascend the throne. He visited Rama in the forest and requested him to return to Ayodhya and assume the regal responsibilities. When Rama did not agree to it, Bharata returned to Ayodhya with the *Paduka* of Rama and decided to reside in the *Nandigrama*.¹¹⁶

6. Jayanta-episode :

When Rama was living at Citrakuta, one day Jayanta, in the guise of a crow, wounded the breasts of Sita. Rama came to know of this. He punished Jayanta for it and deprived him of his one eye.¹¹⁷

7. Surpanakha-episode :

One day Surpanakha, arrived at Pancavati where Rama lived. She expressed her amorous desires before him. Laksmana, following the gestures of Rama, cut off her nose and ears. Then Khara, Dusana and Trisira came to her rescue and were killed in the battle.¹¹⁸

8. Kidnapping of Sita :

In the absence of Rama, Ravana kidnapped Sita. Jatayu, while trying to set Sita free, was wounded by Ravana. While breathing his last, he conveyed the whole message of Sita to Rama, who was very much aggrieved and shocked by the incident. In the course of his search for Sita, Rama met Kabandha who suggested him to extend his hand of friendship to Sugriva.¹¹⁹

9. Rama-Ravana War :

Hanumana found out the whereabouts of Sita. He crossed the great ocean, searched her out and conveyed Rama's message to her. He also handed over Rama's ring to her. He set Lanka on fire and returned to Rama. He handed over her 'Cudamani' to Rama and conveyed her message. Rama, along with his army of monkeys decided to attack Lanka. He built a bridge over the ocean. A war broke out between the armies of Rama and Ravana. One day both Rama and Laksmana were entrapped by

Meghanada. But they were freed from the 'Nagapasa' by Garuna. Later on, Meghanada thrust his 'Sakti' into the chest of Laksmana. Laksmana fell unconscious, but was brought to senses by 'Samjivani'. Later on, in the course of the battle, Laksmana killed Meghanada and Rama killed Kumbhakarna. Ultimately, there was a face-to-face battle between Rama and Ravana. Rama, riding the chariot of Indra, came in the battlefield and gave a tough fight to Ravana. He cut all his heads with his 'Brahmastra' and won the battle. Then he handed over the kingdom of Ravana to Vibhisana. Thereafter Sita was freed and tested in the fire. In the end, Rama along with his other followers left for Ayodhya by the 'Puspaka-vimana'.¹²⁰

10. Return journey of Rama:

On his way to Ayodhya, Rama had a look at the following places and persons:

- (a) The ocean and the Janasthana.
- (b) Agastya, Sutiksna and Sarabhanga.
- (c) Citrakuta.
- (d) The rivers; Sarayu, Ganga and Yamuna.

He also made Sita see these places and persons. Thus he reached his capital Ayodhya. He met Bharata and the mothers there.¹²¹

11. Desertion of Sita:

After returning from the forest and after occupying the throne, Rama sent 'Puspaka' back to Kubera. After a few years, Sita became pregnant. She expressed her desire to see the hermitages again. Rama promised her to fulfil her wishes soon. In the meantime, a spy conveyed to him the rumour afloat in connection with the character of Sita. When Rama heard the rumour, he was shocked. He consulted his brothers and then ordered Laksmana to take Sita away to the hermitage of Valmiki. Laksmana acted accordingly and took Sita to the bank of Ganga in his chariot. There he conveyed to her the message of Rama and desired to take leave of her. After hearing the message, Sita was shocked and fainted. When she came to senses, she conveyed her resentment to Rama through Laksmana. Laksmana took

leave of her and returned to Ayodhya. Valmiki was informed about Sita by his disciples. He took her to his hermitage. He consoled her and asked her to live in his hermitage happily.¹²²

12. Killing of Lavanasa:

One day the sages of the bank of Yamuna, who were teased by the demon Lavanasa, reached the court of Rama. They requested him to protect their religious performances and offerings. Rama ordered Satrughna to accompany them and remove their difficulties. Satrughna acted accordingly and accompanied them. On the way, he broke his journey in the hermitage of Valmiki at night. On the same night Sita gave birth to two sons. Next day, he reached the place of Lavanasa. A fierce encounter took place between Lavanasa and Satrughna. In this encounter Lavanasa was killed.¹²³

13. Killing of Sambuka:

One day, a Brahmana reached the court of Rama carrying the dead body of his son with him. He complained against the deeds of the king which caused the premature death of his son. Rama looked into the matter and found that a Sudra, Sambuka was practising penance in violation of the laws of the cast system. Rama killed him and thus sent him to the heaven. Rama then went to the hermitage of Agastya where he was presented divine ornaments.¹²⁴

14. Sita's Journey to the Patala:

Rama performed a horse sacrifice. He invited sage Valmiki to it. Valmiki arrived at the sacrifice with Lava and Kusa—the sons of Sita. Lava and Kusa recited the *Ramayana* there. At this auspicious occasion, Valmiki asked Rama to send for Sita. Sita was called there. When she came, Rama asked her to prove her chastity. It annoyed Sita. She asked the mother earth to give her way to the 'Patala'. The earth, in the form of a woman, appeared there and took her to her own abode.¹²⁵

15. Laksmana's and Rama's Journey to the Heaven.

When Sita went to the 'Patala', one day the god of death visited the court of Rama. He had a meeting with Rama on the condition that whosoever intervened their meeting would be given capital punishment. When they were talking in

a secret place, Durvasa came to the palace and compelled Laksmana to go to Rama and inform of his arrival. When Laksmana expressed his helplessness, the sage threatened him to curse his whole family. In view of the dire consequences of the curse of Durvasa, Laksmana went there to convey the message. Now in pursuance of the conditions of the meeting, Laksmana had to undergo capital punishment. He, therefore, went to the river Yamuna and breathed his last through *Yoga*. In the absence of Laksmana, Rama was extremely aggrieved. He did not want to live alone. He also went to the bank of Yamuna and breathed his last through *Yoga*.¹²⁶

Thus, from the above account, it is evident that, while developing the plot of *Raghuvamsa* (IX-XV), Kalidasa followed the *Ramayana*. This contention is also supported by his frequent use of words, expressions and sentiments as found in the *Ramayana*.¹²⁷

Kingdom of Kusa :

Canto XVI deals with the life and activities of Kusa who reigned over Kusavati.¹²⁸ Later on, following the request of the city Goddess of Ayodhya, he changed his capital and returned to Ayodhya.¹²⁹ One day, while he, along with his queens, was sporting in the river Sarayu, his ornament, *Jaitrabharana*, fell into the water and¹³⁰ was stolen by *Nagaraja* Kumuda.¹³¹ Kusa was angry. He strung his bow and connected *Garunastra* with it.¹³² Kumuda was very much afraid of *Garunastra*. He (Kumuda) presented himself before the king with his sister and with the stolen gem.¹³³ He requested him (Kusa) to accept his (Kumuda's) sister along with the gem. Kusa did accordingly.¹³⁴ The canto, thus, ends with the end of the marriage ceremony of Kusa.¹³⁵ The whole account of this canto seems to be Kalidasa's own.

Atithi :

Canto XVII deals with the policies and conquests of Atithi.¹³⁶ He performed a horse sacrifice, in which he dedicated all his wealth to *Rtvijas*.¹³⁷ This canto, thus, ends with the horse sacrifice of Atithi.¹³⁸ The whole canto is purely Kalidasa's own innovation.

PEDEGREE OF THE KINGS OF RAGHU DYNASTY

Canto XVIII deals with the pedigree of the kings of Raghu dynasty. It begins with king Nisadha and ends with Sudarsana.¹³⁹

Visnu Purana:

According to the *Visnu Purana*, Kusa, Atithi, Nisadha, Anala, Nabha, Pundarika, Ksemadhanva, Davanika, Ahinaka, Ruru, Pariyatra, Devala, Varcala, Utka, Vajranabha, Samkhana, Yusitasva, Visvasaha, Hiranyanabha, Pusya, Dhruvasamdhi, Sudarsana, Agnivarna and Sighraga ruled this earth successfully after the death of Rama.¹⁴⁰ With a slight variation, Kalidasa also gives the same genealogy of this dynasty. We see that Anala, the son of Nisadha, is named Nala by Kalidasa.¹⁴¹ Between the kings—Ahinaka and Pariyatra, the Purana puts a king named Ruru.¹⁴² Kalidasa omits him. Between Pariyatra and Vajranabha, the Purana mentions three kings—Devala, Varcala and Utka,¹⁴³ but Kalidasa mentions only two kings known as Sila and Unnabha.¹⁴⁴ It is interesting to note that Kalidasa mentions three kings, named Kausalya, Brahmistha and Pusya between Hiranyanabha and Pusya.¹⁴⁵ But the Purana omits them and maintains that king Pusya was the son of Hiranyanabha.¹⁴⁶ The rest of the Puranic account is the same as that of Kalidasa.

Besides, the *Visnu Purana* mentions that king Hiranyanabha learnt *Yoga* from a disciple of Jaimini.¹⁴⁷ Kalidasa brings Putra instead of Hiranyanabha in this connection and observes that the former learnt *Yoga* from Jaimini.¹⁴⁸ Such similarities cannot be there only due to sheer chance. This fact decidedly endorses the idea that Kalidasa had been in close contact with the *Visnu Purana* while composing his poem *Raghuvamsa*, particularly at the time of depicting the geneology of Raghu dynasty.

Agnivarna

Canto XIX deals with the luxurious life of king Agnivarna.¹⁴⁹ His amorous activities and sexual life led to his total destruction; he lost his life in consumption.¹⁵⁰ A few obscene passages of this canto are based on the *Kamasutra* of Vatsyayana.¹⁵¹ The rest of this canto, however, is Kalidasa's own innovation.

The poem, as well as this canto, ends with the life of Agnivarna and the enthronement of his pregnant queen.¹⁵²

The above analysis proves beyond doubt that Kalidasa was highly influenced by the *Ramayana* of Valmiki. From what we have discussed above it can easily be established that Kalidasa has introduced different themes, dialogues, episodes and expressions into *Raghuvamsa* on the basis of the *Ramayana*. Moreover the title of this poem is directly taken from the Ramayana. In the *Ramayana*, we have a verse :

sa yatha kathitam purvam Naradena Mahatmana.
Raghuvamsasya caritam cakara Bhagavan Munih.¹⁵³

The expression *Raghuvamsasya caritam* of this verse seems to be the sole source of the title *Raghuvamsa*.

KUMARASAMBHAVA

Esa te Rama Gangayah vistaro 'bhishito maya.

Kumarasambhavas caiva dhanyah punyas tathaiva ca.

Rama. Bal. XXVII. 31.

The story of Siva and Parvati is found in the *Ramayana*¹⁵⁴ and in the *Mahabharata*¹⁵⁵ very briefly. The *Svetasvatara Upanisad*¹⁵⁶ also gives an idea of Siva, but it is not of the same sort as given by Kalidasa in his poem. The puranic literature has a detailed account of this story¹⁵⁷ and this account is quite in keeping with that of Kalidasa. We shall discuss this point in the sequel.

KUMARASAMBHAVA & SIVA PURANA

The *Siva Mahapurana* contains an elaborate description of Siva and Parvati in its six Samhitas.¹⁵⁸ The story given in the Rudra Samhita; Parvati Kanda, Kumara Kanda and Yuddha Kanda, is quite in keeping with that of *Kumarasambhava*. Not only the story, but even dialogues, phrases incidents, emotions and sentiments are quite common in both the texts. *Kumarasambhava* can be compared with the *Siva Mahapurana* thus :

1. Birth of Uma:

Canto I opens with a description of the Himalayas. According to it Himalaya married Mena who later on gave birth to Mainaka. Mainaka extended his hand of friendship to the ocean and escaped the punishment of Indra. Mena gave birth to a girl also named Parvati. Parvati was Sati in her previous birth who had cast off her body in the sacrificial fire of her father's *Yajna*. Parvati, the daughter of Himalaya, grew in age very quickly. With a view to winning the hand of Siva, she resolved to practise penance but was prevented by her mother. That is why she was named—'Uma'. Her father, Himalaya, not only loved her but also felt himself glorified with her presence in the palace. Parvati used to play with her friends on the bank of the 'Mañdakini'. Due to her previous 'śamiskaras' she learnt all the arts and sciences quickly.

Thus Parvati bloomed to her youth. Once Narada visited the court of Himalaya and predicted the marriage of Parvati with Siva. Parvati herself had an intense desire to meet Siva and get herself married to him. With the permission of her mother, she attended Siva with her friends and started practising penance to win his favour.¹⁵⁹

2. Burning of Kama:

Gods, headed by Indra, attended Brahma when troubled by the great demon Taraka. They eulogized Brahma and complained against the tyranny of Taraka. They also reported their failure against him. Brahma told them that since he himself had blessed Taraka, it was difficult for him to kill the demon by his own hands. But he suggested to them the way they could defeat him. He said that Taraka was capable of being killed by a son of Siva. Saying thus, Brahma disappeared and the gods returned to their abodes. Then they consulted amongst themselves and devised a plan to persuade Siva to marry Parvati who was already practising penance to win his hand. With a view to seeking the help of Kamadeva in this regard, Indra meditated a while and Kamadeva presented himself in his service. Kamadeva asked him why he was called at that moment. Indra informed him of the whole problem. He asked Kama to try to get Siva agreed to marry Parvati, so that they could get a son born of him, because it was he (son) alone who could kill the great demon Taraka.

Kamadeva agreed to this proposal. Accompanied by his friend 'Vasanta' and his consort Rati, he reached the penance grove of Siva. With the advent of 'Vasanta' the atmosphere of that penance grove became extremely enchanting. At that time Parvati also attended Siva with her friends. Kamadeva took it to be the proper time to disturb Siva. He shot his arrow at Siva. Consequently there was a slight disturbance in the meditation of Siva. He tried to find out as to why his mind was disturbed. He found Kamadeva as the sole cause of the disturbance. Siva was highly infuriated. He opened his third eye and turned Kama to ashes. It shocked Rati and she fainted. Parvati too could not endure it. She was

also disappointed. She returned to her father's place in great despair.¹⁶⁰

3. Lamentation of Rati:

Canto IV opens with the lamentations of Rati. When she was mourning the death of her husband, she heard a heavenly voice that she would meet her husband in the future. She, thus, gave up the idea of self-immolation.¹⁶¹ The *Siva Purana* gives a brief account of this episode.

4. Penance of Parvati:

Canto V of *Kumarasambhava* deals with the penance of Parvati. This canto resembles with the *Siva Purana* on the following points :

1. The firm determination of Parvati to practise severe penance, annoyed her mother who prevented her from practising it. But, when asked again and again, her father allowed her to go to practise penance.
2. When she was very much absorbed in the practice of penance, one day a 'Brahmacari' appeared in her hermitage and inquired of her aim.
3. When the 'Brahmacari' was informed that she had an earnest desire to win the love of Siva, he strongly opposed her and also suggested to her not to proceed towards such an inauspicious aim. He also informed her of a few of the bad manners of Siva and denounced him as a bad match for her. Parvati contradicted his arguments brilliantly and added that she had an ardent desire to choose only Siva as her husband notwithstanding all the vagaries of his character. When fully satisfied with the devotion of Parvati, the Brahmacari resumed the form of Siva and observed that actually she had won him by virtue of her penance.¹⁶²

5. Betrothal of Siva :

In canto VI, Siva took leave of Parvati who suggested to him to ask her father for her hand. He returned to his place. He called seven great Rsis who immediately turned up there with Arundhati. Siva asked them to contact Himalaya and persuade him

to give his daughter Parvati to him. They followed the order of Siva and flew to the sky. They reached the place of Himalaya. Himalaya received them warmly and asked them how he could serve them. They conveyed the message of Siva to him. Himalaya consulted his wife Mena and agreed to the proposal. The decision was conveyed to the Rsis who, then, returned to the residence of Siva and communicated the message.¹⁶³

Marriage of Siva :

Canto VII deals with the marriage ceremony of Siva and Parvati. A few passages of this canto resemble with those of the *Siva Purana*.¹⁶⁴ But the details of the ceremony seem to be based on scriptures.¹⁶⁵

Canto VIII deals with the love-making of Siva. He sports with Parvati in all possible manners on different mountain peaks. The contents of this canto show a clear influence of the *Kamasutra*.¹⁶⁶

These are the points of comparison between the two. It is evident from them that a considerable part of *Kumarasambhava* resembles with that of the *Siva Purana*. Not only the theme, but several passages, expressions and dialogues are identical in both the works.¹⁶⁷ This leads one to think that either of these two texts borrowed its subject matter form the other. The following points prove that the *Siva Purana* borrowed its matter from Kalidasa :

1. Scholars, like B. D. Upadhyaya, do not accept any great antiquity of this Purana. They think that it was compiled some time around 1000 A. D.¹⁶⁸
2. The Purana deals with such worships as are popular in Saiva Agamas.¹⁶⁹ Saiva Agamas are not considered to be very ancient.¹⁷⁰
3. The Purana deals with different Mahatmyas—Bilva,¹⁷¹ Bhasma,¹⁷² Rudraksa,¹⁷³ etc. which are evidently of a later origin than Kalidasa.

Thus it is established that the *Siva Purana* developed its theme with the help of *Kumarasambhava* and also borrowed a few expressions from it.

RAMAYANA & KUMARASAMBHAVA

I. Birth of Kumara :

The story of the birth of Kumara, as found in *Kumarasambhava*, is also found in the *Ramayana*.¹⁷⁴ According to the *Ramayana*, once, Gods, headed by Indra, reached the place of Brahma and asked him for a commander.¹⁷⁵ Brahma listened to their request and suggested to them how to get the commander. He told them that with the help of Agni, Ganga would give birth to a child.¹⁷⁶ He further said that Uma would also love that child from the core of her heart,¹⁷⁷ and that the child, when grown up, would lead their army. They heard the words of Brahma, paid due respect to him and returned to the Kailasa. They contacted Agni and asked him to beget a son¹⁷⁸ by discharging his semen in the Akasaganga.¹⁷⁹

Agni conceded to their request. He reached the Akasaganga and discharged his semen in her waters.¹⁸⁰ The Akasaganga could not bear the heat of his semen. She asked Gods to relieve her of that trouble.¹⁸¹ Agni suggested to her to let it out near the mount Himavana.¹⁸² The Akasaganga acted according to his suggestions and ousted her lustrous foetus through her streams.¹⁸³ This foetus, when left in the forest, developed itself into a promising child. Thereafter gods, like Indra and others, appointed Krtikas to feed this child.¹⁸⁴ Krtikas accepted him as their own son and brought him up with their milk. Therefore, later on, the child was called 'Kartikeya'.¹⁸⁵

This 'Kumara-episode' of the *Ramayana* might have been the basic inspiration to Kalidasa. It is not unlikely that he might have taken the help of some other authentic source, but, so far as the case of the 'Kumara-episode' of the *Ramayana* is concerned, it is the most ancient version of the story of Kartikeya. In this episode Siva has been identified with Agni. The identity of Siva with Agni characterizes the earlier phase in the evolution of Siva.¹⁸⁶ Thus Kalidasa seems to have taken the idea of the birth of Kumara from the *Ramayana*.

Besides, a few other episodes of *Kumarasambhava*, i.e. Penance of Parvati, Lamentation of Rati etc., are also portrayed on

the pattern of the *Ramayana*. We make a comparative study of these episodes as follows :

2. Lamentations of Tara and Rati :

Rati-vilapa of *Kumarasambhava* seems to be based on the *Tara-vilapa* of the *Ramayana*.¹⁸⁷ According to the *Ramayana*, when Bali was killed by Rama, Tara, his wife, became extremely aggrieved.¹⁸⁸ She burst into tears and asked the dead repeatedly to respond.¹⁸⁹ She several times reminded him of his prowess and virtues.¹⁹⁰ She complained against him that he was going to the heaven all alone.¹⁹¹ She also complained that her heart was made of stone, as it were, since it was not breaking into pieces even at the death of her husband.¹⁹² When Tara was weeping in this way, Hanumana consoled her¹⁹³ and helped her in coming back to her senses.

In *Kumarasambhava* Rati also mourns the death of her husband in the same way. she too complains against her heart which was not breaking even at the death of her husband.¹⁹⁴ She too complains that he was going in the heaven all alone.¹⁹⁵ Besides, whereas Tara was consoled by Hanumana, Rati was consoled by a heavenly voice.¹⁹⁶

Thus, it seems that the *Rati-vilapa* of *Kumarasambhava* is portrayed on the pattern of the *Tara-vilapa* of the *Ramayana*.

3. Penance of Vedavati and Parvati:

In the *Ramayana*, there is a reference to the penance of Vedavati, the daughter of Kusadhvaja.¹⁹⁷ According to the *Ramayana*, once, Ravana, in the course of his journey, reached the mount Himavana.¹⁹⁸ He saw there a beautiful girl practising penance and performing the duties of an ascetic.¹⁹⁹ He inquired of her name. He further enquired her desires and aims that she wanted to get fulfilled by practising that penance.²⁰⁰ He also told her that she had undertaken the most unsuitable task in her prime youth.²⁰¹ She heard these words of Ravana and replied that she was practising penance to win the hand of Narayana.²⁰² She also informed him that she was the daughter of Brahmarsi Kusadhvaja²⁰³ and was determined to select only Narayana as her husband. She further told him of her confidence to win the favour of Narayana by means of her austere penance.²⁰⁴

In *Kumarasambhava*, Siva himself inquired of Parvati about her wishes, aims and goals.²⁰⁵ Parvati too replied him that she was practising penance to win the hand of Siva.²⁰⁶ She too told him of her confidence of winning Siva as her husband by means of her austere penance.²⁰⁷ thus the contents of both the stories are the same in both the texts. Probably Kalidasa has taken the idea of Parvati's penance, from the 'Vedavati-tapasya' of the *Ramayana*.

Besides, Kalidasa seems to be indebted to the *Ramayana* for the title of his poem *Kumarasambhava*. In the *Ramayana*, there is a couplet:

esa te Rama Gaःgayah vistaro 'bhihito maya.
Kumarasambhavas caiva dhanyah punyas tathaiva ca.²⁰⁸ This couplet, in fact, influenced Kalidasa so much that he choose the title *Kumarasambhava* for his poem after it.

Thus the influence of the *Ramayana* on *Kumarasambhava* is beyond doubt. But it is not to suggest that the *Ramayana* was the only source of *Kumarasambhava*. In this respect, it seems that Kalidasa has utilized some popular legends also. Particularly the 'Taraka-episode' seems to be based on legends. It is not unlikely that the real source of this story may be found in the puranic literature or even elsewhere. But, so long as it is traced, it is difficult to maintain that he took the aid of any particular Purana. So far as the case of the *Siva Purana* is concerned, it is not an authentic and original Purana and is also not free from interpolations.²⁰⁹ It is, therefore, difficult to take it to be a source book of Kalidasa's works.

CHAPTER II

D R A M A S

1. ABHIJNANA SAKUNTALAM
2. VIKRAMORVASIYAM
3. MALAVIKAGNIMITRAM

ABHIJNANA SAKUNTALAM

There are two works, the *Mahabharata* and the *Padma Purana*, which are supposed to be the sources of the story of Dusyanta and Sakuntala. The story of the *Padma Purana* is quite in keeping with that of *Sakuntalam*. Some dialogues and expressions are quite identical in both the texts. The ring-motif, the curse of Durvasa and the Dhanavrddhi episode of the *Padma Purana* are the same as we find in *Sakuntalam*. The details of the puranic version of the story are as follows:

Padma Purana:

Dusyanta, a virtuous king of the lunar race, was well versed in the knowledge of the *Vedas* and *Vedangas*.¹ He was also well versed in archery. He was handsome like cupid and had the gravity of the Himalayas.² He was like the ocean in depth, Kubera in wealth and Indra in valour.³

Once, riding his decorated chariot, he went for hunting.⁴ *Coin* In the forest he saw an antelope. He followed it with a view to killing it.⁵ The antelope ran very fast and it took him a long way in the precincts of the hermitage of Kanya. Then the king in great anger aimed his arrow at the antelope.⁶ Meanwhile two disciples of Kanya saw him aiming at the antelope.⁷ They intervened in his action and asked him not to kill that antelope since it belonged to the hermitage.⁸ The king obeyed them and withdrew his arrow.⁹ *K 84*

The king then, felt very thirsty. In the course of searching water, he saw some girls who were as beautiful as Apsaras. They were watering plants of the hermitage with pots commensurated to their own size.¹⁰ Amongst them, a beautiful virgin named Sakuntala asked him to accept *Asana*, *Padya* and *Arghya* etc.¹¹ Since the king was highly influenced by her sweet behaviour, he accepted her offer happily. Her bewitch-

ing beauty made the king a victim of the arrows of cupid. He began to enquire as to who she was and who were her parents.¹² He further introduced himself as the king of Puru dynasty, named Dusyanta.¹³

When asked repeatedly, one of her friends told Dusyanta the whereabouts of Sakuntala. According to her statement there was a king named Visvamitra, the son of Gadhi, who was defeated by Vasistha by means of his (Vasistha's) Brahmanic powers. Having no other alternative to avenge Vasistha, he started practising penance to attain to the status of a Brahmana.¹⁴ In view of his austere penance, Indra was highly terrified. With a view to disturbing his (Visvamitra's) penance, he (Indra) sent Menaka to his (Visvamitra's) hermitage.¹⁵ Menaka decorated herself with heavenly ornaments and appeared in the penance grove of Visvamitra. She allured him with her beauty with the result that despite his all ascetic thoughts, he embraced her and enjoyed her company for a long time.¹⁶

After some time, Visvamitra realized that the intensity of his penance was diminishing. He was ashamed of his weakness. He, therefore, left Menaka there and went to another place for improving his practice of penance. Menaka then returned to Indra after leaving her foetus in a thick forest.¹⁷ In the forest, the foetus was reared by birds. It is why it was called 'Sakuntala'.¹⁸ Once, per chance Kanya turned up there, and came by the child. He felt pity towards it and brought it up as his own daughter.¹⁹

This story convinced king Dusyanta that Sakuntala was the daughter of a Ksatriya king and that she was worthy of him. It was in these circumstances that king Dusyanta put before her his proposal of marrying her after the Gandharva pattern. He pleaded in favour of the suitability of the Gandharva type of marriage and promised her to give his whole kingdom to her off-spring.²⁰

Sakuntala told him that her father Kanya had gone to fetch fruits and that he would return soon and would offer

her to the king. She, therefore, advised him to wait for some time.²¹ Dusyanta told her frankly that he was anxious to have a secret meeting with her. He told her that he had been living there only because of his deep interest in her.²² He pleaded that, since one's own self was responsible for one's activities, she should offer herself to him by way of Gandharva type of marriage.²³ He once more expressed his ardent desire to have a secret meeting with her.²⁴ Sakuntala, then, told him that if he actually wanted to marry her, he should make some promises to her. First, he should promise to accept her son as the successor of his throne.²⁵ Secondly, he should give his ring to her as the token of his love.²⁶

King Dusyanta accepted these conditions without any hesitation. He also promised her to carry her to his capital. With these words, he took her into his confidence and co-habited with her.²⁷ After enjoying her company, he returned to his capital leaving her back with the promise that he would send his councillors to take her back to his palace.²⁸

As soon as king Dusyanta left the hermitage, Kanya returned there. Being ashamed of her conduct, Sakuntala did not attend him.²⁹ However Kanya came to know of her secret love through his spiritual power. He consoled her and told her that she had done nothing wrong by offering herself to a Ksatriya. He observed that the Gandharva marriage was the best type of marriage for Ksatriyas.³⁰ He blessed her that she would give birth to a child who would rule the whole of the earth.³¹

In the absence of Dusyanta, Sakuntala became highly impatient. She would think of him all the twenty four hours. She did not talk even to her friends and was engrossed in thinking about him. Once, due to the pangs of separation, she was lying on the bare ground and was breathing impatiently.³² In the meantime, Durvasa, who was very much aglow with penance, entered the hermitage and made an appeal for food. Having no response from her he cursed her that the person she was thinking about so passionately, would forget her.³³

Priyamvada, the friend of Sakuntala, heard the curse of Durvasa. She rushed to the spot, fell down to the feet of Durvasa, offered *Arghya* and *Padya* and tried to please him.³⁴ She told Durvasa that the defaulter, Sakuntala, was the daughter of Visvamitra and the queen of the Paurava king Dusyanta. She added that it was due to her being engrossed in thinking of her lover that she failed to pay due regard to him. She, Therefore, appealed to him that he should nullify the effect of his curse.³⁵ When requested in this manner, Durvasa was pleased. He observed that the king would recognize her on the production of the signet ring.³⁶ On the other hand, Kanya marked that Sakuntala's womb was developing day by day. One day he told her that he would send her to her husband's place. He was of the view that a married girl should not stay at her father's place for a long time.³⁷ Sakuntala thanked her father for that kind favour and expressed her ardent desire to see her husband. On her request, Kanya asked other sages and their wives to bid her adieu. They instantly blessed her.³⁸ Kanya asked the creepers and their counterparts also to bid her adieu.³⁹

Kanya, then, asked Gautami, Priyamvada, Sarngarava and Saradvata to take her to the court of her husband. They obeyed their preceptor's order and started for the court of Dusyanta.⁴⁰ By the mid-day they reached the bank of the Sarasvati. On the bank of the river, the disciples of Kanya performed their mid-day prayer.⁴¹ Sakuntala also wanted to take bath in the river. She handed over her ring to Priyamvada. Priyamvada wanted to tie it with her cloth. But it fell down into the water.⁴² Priyamvada did not inform Sakuntala of this incident. The latter forgot to take the ring back from her.⁴³

After their mid-day worship, they resumed their journey and reached the court of Dusyanta.⁴⁴ They asked the door-keeper to inform the king that some disciples of Kanya had come to see him.⁴⁵ The door-keeper informed the king, who asked his Purohita Gautama to welcome them with *Padya* and *Arghya*. He also asked the Purohita to inquire about their purpose. The Purohita acted accordingly and welcomed them duly. He also appreciated the beauty of Sakuntala and inquired about her parentage.⁴⁶

The disciples of Kanva told him that the girl with them was Sakuntala, the daughter of Visvamitra, born of the Apsara, Menaka. They also informed him that she was brought up by Kanva and was accepted by Dusyanta in secret love. They further told him that Kanva had sent her to the court of her lover, Dusyanta.⁴⁷ The Purohita conveyed this news to Dusyanta. The king told him that he did not recall where and when he had married Sakuntala. He further added that she seemed to be an unchaste woman who had come to cheat him.⁴⁸ The Purohita told the king that, instead of appearing to be an unchaste woman she seemed to be Laksmi herself.⁴⁹

Then with the consent of the king, the Purohita, Gautama, produced them before the king. The disciples of Kanva blessed the king and conveyed to him the message of their preceptor.⁵⁰ They said that Kanva had asked them to inform him that Sakuntala was accepted by the king in secret love in the course of his hunting expedition near his hermitage. They further added that in the opinion of Kanva, their love affair was not contrary to the religious prescriptions, because Ksatriyas were allowed to accept a girl through Gandharva type of marriage.⁵¹

They also told him that Sakuntala was pregnant and was, therefore, not fit to live in the hermitage. They maintained that the son born of her would be a 'Cakravarti' king.⁵² But the king doubted her chastity and denounced her as concubine. This response of king Dusyanta, enraged the disciples of Kanva. Gautami unveiled the face of Sakuntala and told the king that she was pregnant as a result of his secret meeting with her in the hermitage. The king declined to accept her and said that he failed to recall all that Gautami told him. Meanwhile, Sakuntala asked Priyamvada to show the ring, but she regretted that it was lost in the river Sarasvati. Having heard these words of Priyamvada, Sakuntala lost her consciousness and fell on the ground.

At this stage, the Purohita of the king suggested to him that she should be allowed to live with him (Purohita) till the delivery. He further added that, if she gave birth

to a child having royal signs, she would be entitled to be his queen.⁵³ Saying thus, he wanted to take her to his house as against her wishes. Meanwhile, Menaka in the form of lightening, sprang there and, taking Sakuntala in her lap, flew in the sky.⁵⁴

After some time, once the king, accompanied by his ministers, came out of his palace to inquire about the welfare of his subjects. At that time, the city guards produced a fisherman before him and complained that he had stolen the royal ring and was trying to sell it out in the market.⁵⁵ Then the king asked the fisherman where he had found the ring. The fisherman replied that, while he spread his net in the water of Sarasvati, he caught a Rohita fish. He cut the belly of the fish and found the ring there.⁵⁶

King Dusyanta took that ring from the fisherman and paid its price to him. The sight of the ring reminded him of his beloved Sakuntala. He felt shocked as he remembered how cruelly he had treated his beloved and had sent her away quite insultingly. At that time, Gautama, the priest, consold him and asked him not to get so impatient, since it did not behove a king.⁵⁷ In the meantime an envoy reported to the king that a sea-merchant—Dhanavrddhi, was drowned in the sea. Since he was issue-less, all his wealth should go to the royal treasury. The king, however, ordered to inquire whether any one of his wives was pregnant, and if so, the whole property should go to the infant.⁵⁸

Following the order of the king, his councillors discovered and found out that one of his wives was pregnant. Then the king ordered that the whole property should go to her and she would be a legitimate heir of her husband's wealth.⁵⁹ This incident reminded him of his having no son. He thought that his ancestors would drink the water of 'Sraddha' in great despair as there would be none to give them water in the future. In this state of sorrow he passed three years.⁶⁰

Then, once, Indra sent for him and asked him to assist him in the battle against demons. Dusyanta assisted

him and defeated demons. While he was returning to his capital, he took rest in the hermitage of Marici. There, he saw a child carrying five lion cubs, binding them with creepers.⁶¹ It so happened that Kasyapa also returned there from the forest. He saw Dusyanta there and was very much pleased. He asked the welfare of his kingdom. Dusyanta told him that everything in his kingdom was all right. The king then inquired about that child who had asserted himself to be a Paurava son.⁶² Kasyapa told him that the child was Dusyanta's own son, born of his wife Sakuntala. He further added that the child was the chastiser of beasts and was therefore named 'Sarvadamana'. Kasyapa also added that he had forgot his wife on account of the curse of Durvasa.⁶³ Then Kasyapa handed over 'Sarvadamana' to Dusyanta and blessed him that he be a sovereign king. He then asked an old woman to take Sakuntala to him so that he might hand her over to her husband. The woman acted accordingly and presented Sakuntala before Dusyanta who was extremely glad to have his son and his wife restored to him.⁶⁴

Thus, it is evident that the story, as found in the *Padma Purana*, is quite in keeping with that of Kalidasa. But there are certain reasons which make it difficult to establish it to be the source of Kalidasa. The following facts make the *Padma Purana* a later work than that of Kalidasa:

1. *Scholars* do not attach much antiquity to the Purana and maintain that it had been compiled around 1000 A. D. with the help of other authentic Puranas.⁶⁵
2. The *Padma Purana* is found in two different versions—Bengali and Devanagari. It is to be noted that the Devanagari version of this Purana omits this story and that it is only the Bengali version which contains it. It seems that originally this story had no place in the Purana. It might have been interpolated later on in it.
3. In connection with this story, the Purana has borrowed chapter 73 (1-29) of the *Mahabharata*, Adiparva.⁶⁶
4. The *Padma Purana* is abundantly equipped with the Ma-

hatmyas of different Tirthas⁶⁷ which make it comparatively of a later origin.

5. The 'Dilipa episode' of this Purana is portrayed on the pattern of the 'Dilipa episode' of *Raghuvamsha*.⁶⁸
6. The introduction of Priyamvada and Gautami in this episode is quite different from that of the Puranic literature.
7. The Dhanavrddhi episode, Ring motif, Matali episode and Dhivara episodes have no parallels in the Puranic literature.

So, on the ground of the above arguments, it is established that the compiler of the Purana sought the help of the *Mahabharata* on the one hand and of *Sakuntalam* on the other, in incorporating this story in the Purana.

Mahabharata:

In the *Mahabharata*, this story comes in its original form. According to the *Mahabharata*, this story runs as follows:

Dusyanta was a virtuous king of the Puru dynasty. Once in the course of his hunting expedition, he reached the hermitage of Kanya. He asked his followers to wait at the door while he himself put off his royal garments and entered into the hermitage. When he did not see Kanya there, he raised a loud voice inquiring if there was any one present in the hermitage.⁶⁹

A beautiful girl, like Lakshmi, came out of the hermitage. She welcomed him, offered him 'Padya' and 'Arghya' and inquired about his welfare. The king told her that he had come to see sage Kasyapa. He, then, inquired about the sage. Sakuntala told him that her father had gone to fetch fruits and that he would return soon. She, thus, asked him to wait for some time.⁷⁰

The beauty of the girl and her grown up limbs bewitched the king. He inquired of her identity and the reason why she had entered into the hermitage in her early age. Sakuntala told him that she was the daughter of sage Kanya. It made the king more curious about her as Kanya was leading a life of celibacy.⁷¹ Sakuntala, then, narrated to him the story of her life as she was told by her father, Kanya. She told him that, sometime in the past, Visvamitra practised austere penance. It made Indra im-

patient. Being afraid of his penance, Indra asked Menaka to disturb him and to tempt him by virtue of her beauty, youth and lovely gestures. Menaka herself was very much afraid of the virtues of Visvamitra and so she expressed her helplessness and reminded him of the accomplishments of Visvamitra. Indra assured her to appoint certain persons to assist her in the task. Accordingly, he asked cupid and the wind to accompany her to the penance grove of Visvamitra.⁷²

According to the order of Indra, they reached the hermitage of Visvamitra. There Menaka noticed that Visvamitra was practising severe penance. She paid due respect to him and began to sport beside his hermitage. A glance at her heavenly beauty affected Visvamitra much. Feeling passionate he invited her for co-habitation, which she accepted willingly. Thus enjoying a happy conjugal life they passed several years like a moment. In the meantime, Menaka gave birth to a child.⁷³

Later on, leaving her new born child on the peaks of the mountain Himalaya, Menaka returned to the court of Indra. Birds took the child under their shelter. Once Kanva happened to reach that spot. He found the child lying there. He took it to his hermitage and brought it up as his own daughter. The child was named 'Sakuntala' as she was reared by Sakuntas—birds.⁷⁴ After hearing this story, Dusyanta said that it was clear then that she was a princess and was, therefore, entitled to become his wife. He promised to bring several ornaments, precious garments and valuable gems for her. He pleaded for the supremacy of Gandharva type of marriage and added that it was the best among various types of marriages.⁷⁵

Sakuntala told him that her father had gone to fetch flowers and that he was expected there soon. He should, thus, wait for some time. She further added that her father certainly would approve of Dusyanta's proposal. Dusyanta expressed his ardent desire to co-habit with her. He pleaded that every individual was free to act according to his or her conscience and that, therefore, she may offer herself to him.⁷⁶

Hearing the words of Dusyanta, Sakuntala told him that she could give her hand to him only on the condition that her son

would be made the successor of the throne. The king accepted her condition and assured her that he would take her soon to his own capital. In this way, king Dusyanta took her into confidence and enjoyed her conjugal love.⁷⁷

At the time of departure, the king assured her that he would send his army to carry her to the capital. However, he was also afraid of the reaction of the sage, whose daughter he had seduced in his absence.⁷⁸ After some time Kanva also returned to the hermitage, but, Sakuntala, ashamed of her misconduct, did not attend to him. However, Kanva, who was endowed with spiritual powers, knew it and told her that she had done nothing wrong by attending upon Dusyanta in the secret. He reiterated that the Gandharva marriage was more suitable for a Ksatriya and that Dusyanta, whom she had selected as her husband, was a virtuous Ksatriya of the Puru dynasty. He then blessed her that she would give birth to a brave child who would rule over the whole of the earth.⁷⁹

After three years of her pregnancy, she gave birth to a male child. Kanva performed its different Samskaras, such as Jataka-rarma, Namakarana etc., according to Vedic rules.⁸⁰ The child grew up soon and completed six years of his age. He began to control lions, tigers, boars and elephants with creepers. He chastised beasts of the forest and, as such, he was named 'Sarvadamana'.⁸¹ Kanva marked that Sarvadamana was grown up and was very promising. One day he told Sakuntala that it was the proper time when her child should be made prince. After seeking her consent, he asked his disciples to take her to her husband's house.⁸² Following the order of their preceptor, the disciples of Kanva left for the capital of Dusyanta. They took her to the palace of king Dusyanta and left her in the court. They, then, returned to the hermitage.⁸³

Sakuntala, after paying due respect to him asked him to celebrate the coronation ceremony of her son. She reminded him of his secret union with her and the promise he had made to her in the hermitage of Kanva. Dusyanta turned down her claims and said that never had he such a contact with her. He also doubted the integrity of her character and asked her to leave the

court.⁸⁴ Sakuntala was taken aback. She fainted. After a short while, she came to her senses and told him that he knew the facts very well, but was concealing them like an ordinary man. She further complained that he was not paying due respect to her only because she came to him on her own initiative. She cursed him that, in case he did not keep his words, his head would fall on the ground and break into one hundred pieces.⁸⁵

In the end, Sakuntala stressed the importance of a male child and urged Dusyanta to accept his own son. But, getting no response from his side, she complained against her ill luck and told him that she would return to her father's place.⁸⁶ In his reaction to her curse, Dusyanta told her that since women are lier by nature they are not reliable. He further said that he did not remember when and how he had any union with her and how he made her bear a son. He also denounced her mother Menaka as a prostitute and her father Visvamitra as morally debased. He described her also as an unchaste woman in the garb of a hermit girl. In the end he told her that since he could not recognize her, she might go anywhere according to her own sweet will.⁸⁷ Sakuntala, once again tried to convince him of her truthfulness, and reminded him of his fault. She also emphasised the need and the significance of a male child. But, when, all her attempts to convince him proved futile, she told him that she was leaving the court and that she would never keep the company of such an unreliable man.⁸⁸

Saying so, Sakuntala moved to leave the court. Meanwhile, Dusyanta heard a heavenly voice instructing him to take care of his son and pay due respect to Sakuntala. It added that he was the progenitor of the child and that Sakuntala was telling the truth.⁸⁹ It also suggested the name of the child as Bharata. The king drew the attention of his councillors towards the heavenly voice and accepted his son. He performed all the ceremonies of the child and embraced him with great affection.⁹⁰

He also consoled his wife Sakuntala that she was telling the truth, that it was he who was the progenitor of the child and that he had entered into the union of love with her. With these words he honoured his beloved Sakuntala, offered royal dresses, drinks, meals and ornaments to her. He then performed the co-

ronation ceremony of Bharata recognizing him as the prince.⁹¹

From the above account, it is evident that the story of Dusyanta and Sakuntala is found in the *Mahabharata*, in its original form. Kalidasa must have taken the story of his drama from the epic. The main features of the story; Dusyanta's hunting excursion, his arrival in the hermitage, Gandharva marriage with Sakuntala, approval of Kanya, birth of Bharata, refusal of Dusyanta to accept Sakuntala etc.—are also the main features of the story that Kalidasa has used in his drama.

Changes in the original story :

Kalidasa has made the following changes in the original story of the *Mahabharata* :

1. In the *Mahabharata*, there is a long dialogue between Dusyanta and Sakuntala which, however, does not seem to be much refined. There Sakuntala puts some conditions before the king, and when those are accepted by him, she agrees to enter into secret union with him. Kalidasa omits it in his drama.

2. Kalidasa realises the necessity of assistants in the love affair, that is why he introduces Anasuya and Priyamvada as two girl friends of Sakuntala, who help her in her love affair. He also introduces Gautami, who takes care of these girls.

3. In the *Mahabharata*, the sage, Kanya, is said to have been out for a few hours. He went to fetch flowers and was expected to return soon. His immediate return was a sure interference in the love union of Dusyanta and Sakuntala. So, to avoid the inconvenience of the lovers, Kalidasa makes him go away to propitiate the destiny of Sakuntala. Thus, Kalidasa provides the lovers with sufficient time to make love.

4. According to the *Mahabharata*, Sakuntala gave birth to her son in the hermitage of her father, Kanya and when her son was six years old, she took him to the court of Dusyanta. But Kalidasa thinks it indecent and so he makes Sakuntala go to the court of Dusyanta during her pregnancy.

5. The *Mahabharata* maintains that Dusyanta accepted Sakuntala and Bharata after hearing the heavenly voice. But Kalidasa makes Menaka carry her to the hermitage of Marici where she gives birth to Bharata. He also manages to make

Dusyanta visit the hermitage of Marici where he meets with his wife and son.

6. Kalidasa also recognizes the necessity of Kasyapa and Aditi for blessing the regal couple. He also makes them bless Bharata.

Thus, Kalidasa gives a necessary mould to the original story of the *Mahabharata*. He thus gives a psychological touch to the love affair of Dusyanta and Sakuntala and creates for them proper atmosphere for enjoyment of the sentiment of love.

Innovations of Kalidasa :

To give a dramatic touch to the original story of the *Mahabharata*, Kalidasa has made the following additions to the plot:

1. In the 1st Act, Sakuntala's watering of shrubs with her friends, their talks and the incident of the wild elephant, are added.
2. In the 2nd Act, the introduction of Vidusaka, his interference in the hunting, request of the hermits to protect the sacrifice, the arrival of Karabhaka from the capital and the departure of Vidusaka, are added.
3. In the 3rd Act, the lovelorn state of Sakuntala, her love letter to Dusyanta, jokes of Priyamvada, Dusyanta's meeting with Sakuntala, departing of Anasuya and Priyamvada under the pretext of uniting the fawn with its mother, and the arrival of Gautami to get the lovers dispersed, are added.
4. In the 4th Act, the curse of Durvasa, the yieldings of Vanaspatis, and the instructions of Kanya to Sakuntala, are added.
5. In the 5th Act, the songs of Hamsapadika, the introduction of Sarngarava and Saradvata, the signet ring and the sudden disappearance of Sakuntala from the court of the king, are added.
6. In the 6th Act, the introduction of the fisherman, the presence of Sanumati, the king's repentance, the Dhana-vrddhi episode, and, the Matali episode, are added.

7. And in the 7th Act, the whole account of Dusyanta's arrival in the hermitage of Marici, the recognition of his son and the union with his wife etc. are, Kalidasa's innovations.

RING-MOTIF

Kattahari Jataka :

In this *Jataka*, there is a story quite resembling the ring story of *Abhijnana Sakuntalam*. The *Jataka* story runs as follows:

Once, Brahmadatta, the king of Varanasi went to the forest to fetch fruits and flowers. There, he saw a beautiful girl, collecting pieces of wood and singing sweet songs. The king was fascinated by her beauty. He took her hand and enjoyed her beauty. As a result of this secret meeting the girl became pregnant. She informed the king of her pregnancy. He offered his ring to her and told her that if she gave birth to a girl, she should sell the ring and arrange the marriage, and in case she gave birth to a male child, she should produce him in his court with that ring.

In due course, she gave birth to a male child, who was 'Bodhisatva' himself. He grew up at his native place. Once, while he was playing with his friends they told him ironically that he had no father. He returned to his mother and asked who his father was. She took him to the court of the king. She produced the ring and the child before the king. The king ashamed of his misconduct, pretended that he did not recognize her.

In order to convince him, the girl told him that she was throwing the child in the sky. If the child were his own son, he would remain in the sky unhurt, and, in case he was not his legitimate child, he would fall on the earth. Saying thus, she threw the child in the sky, there he was observed sitting cross-legged. Meanwhile, the king heard a heavenly voice to the effect that the child was his own son, and that he should bring him up. The king then, opened his arms and 'Bodhisatva' descended in his lap from the sky. The king placed the mother of the child in his harem.⁹²

Ramayana :

According to the *Ramayana*, Rama sent his ring to Sita through Hanumana. Hanumana produced the ring before Sita and introduced himself as a messenger of Rama. Sita, seeing the ring of her husband, believed him and conveyed her message to her husband, Rama. She also handed over her 'Cudamani' to Hanumana and asked him to give that to Rama.⁹³ This ring motif of the *Ramayana* might have been the source of the ring motif of *Abhijnana Sakuntalam*.

Kamasutra :

Vatsyayana suggests to a lover to offer his ring etc., to his beloved.⁹⁴ He also suggests to a maiden to offer her ring, ear ornament etc. whenever asked by her lover.⁹⁵

Also, the word *Abhijnana* is frequently used in the *Kamasutra* in the same specific sense⁹⁶ as Kalidasa has used it in his drama. Most probably Kalidasa has taken the idea of ring-motif from the *Ramayana* and the *Kamasutra* both. Thus, both the works have served equally as the sources of Kalidasa in the delineation of different scenes. Kalidasa, thus, owes equally to both the works. Thus, it is evident that Kalidasa took the story of the *Mahabharata* for his drama and also took the help of the *Ramayana* and the *Kamasutra* for the sake of depicting different scenes.

VIKRAMORYASIYAM

Budhasya putro rajarsih Kasirajah Pururava.

Tam abhyagaccha durbuddhe sa te bharta bhavisyati.

Rama. Uttara. 56. 25.

Different versions of the story of Pururava and Urvasi are found in the Vedic and Post-Vedic literature.⁹⁷ The Vedic version as found in the Rgveda (X 95) and the Satapatha Brahmana (V. 1-2), is considered to be the oldest form of the story. The Post-Vedic version of it seems to be only a developed form of the Vedic version.

Rgveda :

According to the Rgveda, Urvasi, a celestial damsel, fell in love with a mortal king, Pururavas. Per chance, she consented to go and stay with the king. She laid down certain conditions, violation of which would compel her to leave his company. After some time, the Gandharvas, who felt the absence of Urvasi, so arranged the matter that the king was compelled to violate the conditions. They carried the pet lambs of Urvasi off. When her lambs were carried off, she wanted to take leave of Pururavas. The king tried his best to persuade her to stay longer and attempted to tempt her in the name of the child she was carrying in her womb. But Urvasi told him frankly that she would never return. She added that it was impossible for him to win the heart of a woman. She maintained that the friendship of a woman was not reliable and that women at heart are comparable to wicked wolves. This story ends with the promise from the gods that Pururavas would be happy in the other world.⁹⁸

Satapatha Brahmana :

The version of this story as found in the Satapatha Brahmana is, to a certain extent, a modified form of the Rgvedic version.⁹⁹ The whole story runs in the same way except the addition that at the lamentations of Pururavas, Urvasi consented to live with him once at the end of the year. In the Vedic version, there is no consideration for the lamentations of the king. According to her promise, she met the king at the end of the year. She

suggested to him that next morning, when Gandharvas would arrive to take her away, he should request them to tell him the way by which he could also attain to the status of Gandharvas. Pururavas acted according to her suggestions. Gandharvas suggested to him to worship the fire produced from the Sami wood. Pururavas performed the worship of the fire and attained the status of Gandharvas. Ultimately he met his beloved Urvasi and enjoyed her company for a long time.¹⁰⁰

Brhaddevata & Sarvanukramani:

The Vedic version of the story is also found in the *Brhaddevata* and *Sarvanukramani*.¹⁰¹ These two versions of the story are slightly different from the Vedic and the Brahmanic.

In the *Brhaddevata*, Indra, being jealous of Pururavas, ordered his thunderbolt to destroy Urvasi's love for him.¹⁰² In the *Sarvanukramani* of the *Rgveda*, Indra does not appear at all. In this version, the curse of Mitravaruna is mentioned, owing to which Urvasi had to go to the earth and live with Pururavas on certain conditions.¹⁰³

Kathasarit-sagara :

The *Kathasarit-sagara* gives a different mould to this story.¹⁰⁴ The main features of this version are as follows :

1. Pururavas, a devotee of Lord Visnu, once saw Urvasi in the Nandanavana and fell in love with her.
2. Visnu favoured his devotee and asked Indra through Narada to hand over Urvasi to Pururavas. Indra did it unhesitatingly
3. Once, Pururavas helped Indra in the battle against the demon, Mayadhara. This victory was celebrated in the heaven. In this celebration, Pururavas was also invited as a guest. Apsaras Rambha staged dance on this occasion. Pururavas, having noticed some lapses in her dance, laughed at her. Then, Rambha was highly enraged. She asked him how he knew the technicalities of the celestial dance. He replied that by virtue of his close relationship with Urvasi he knew more about celestial dance than did Tumburu himself. It angered Tumburu who cursed him that he

would be separated from Urvasi in the near future. He further said that the separation would last until he propitiated Lord Krsna. Having heard of this curse, the king left for Badarikasrama and tried his best to win the favour of Krsna. In the end, Hari, pleased with his devotion, granted him permanent company with his (Pururava's) beloved Urvasi.¹⁰⁵

Harivamsa :

The version of the story in the *Harivamsa* corresponds to that of the Puranic version.¹⁰⁶ According to this version of the story, the curse of Brahma caused the fall of Urvasi on the earth. It adds that in the course of her presence on the earth, she began to live with the king, Pururavas on certain conditions. Accordingly, on the violation of those conditions, she disappeared from the court of the king. In the course of searching her out, the king wandered hither and thither. Once he met her in Kurukssetra. She promised to meet him for a single night. Urvasi while meeting him at night, suggested to him to seek the help of Gandharvas to attain to their status. Pururavas acted according to her suggestion. Gandharvas offered him a 'Agnisthali' and asked him to perform a sacrifice. He took the 'Agnisthali' and kept it in the forest and went to his house with his son. When he returned from his house he did not find Agnisthali there; he found an Asvattha tree grown on a Sami tree. Gandharvas again suggested to him to make Arani out of the tree and produce fire by rubbing it. He did so and got the fire. He performed a sacrifice with the help of that fire and attained the status of a Gandharva.¹⁰⁷

Matsya Purana :

The version of the story in the *Matsya Purana*¹⁰⁸ seems to be an attempt to motivate the celestial nymph and take her to the earth so that she may live with her lover Pururavas for some time more. The motif of curse proved helpful in this regard.¹⁰⁹ The conditions as laid down in the Vedic version are not only retained in the Puranic version but are also discussed at length.¹¹⁰

But two other Puranas, the *Matsya* and the *Padma*, give another mould to the story.¹¹¹ They drop the condition and introduce the curse of Bharata.¹¹² The text of the story of both the

Puranas is quite identical.¹¹³ Probably the *Padma Purana* has borrowed the whole story and the text from the *Matsya Purana*.¹¹⁴ The account of the story of the *Matsya Purana* is quite in keeping with that of Kalidasa. The salient features of the story of the *Matsya Purana* are as follows :

Pururavas was a close friend of Indra. He used to visit him daily. One day while he was returning from the court of Indra, he saw that the Apsarasas, Urvasi and Citralekha, were being taken away by the demon Kesi. He heard their cry and hurried to their rescue. He defeated the demon, recovered them and handed them over to Indra.

Once, a drama, 'Laksmi Svayamvara' was staged under the direction of Bharata. Urvasi was a participant in it. She, while discharging the role of Laksmi, looked at the face of Pururavas and was fascinated by his personality. Consequently she forgot her action and uttered irrelevant words. For this fault of hers, Bharata, the director, cursed her to fall on the earth in the form of a creeper. When pacified, he brought moderation to the curse to the extent that Pururavas would meet her there in the form of a ghost.¹¹⁵ As a result of this curse, Urvasi came to the earth and bore eight sons to Pururavas.¹¹⁶

Thus the story of the *Matsya Purana* is quite in agreement with that of Kalidasa. But, due to certain reasons, it is difficult to say that Kalidasa followed the Purana in developing the theme of his drama. The reasons are as follows :

1. The date of this Purana is uncertain. Scholars do not attach much antiquity to this Purana.¹¹⁷
2. Puranas have certain traditions of their own and these are followed by each one of the authentic Puranas. The nature of the story as found in the Purana is not in keeping with the Paranic tradition. It seems that this story was interpolated in this Purana later on at the time by which the works of Kalidasa had gained much popularity.
3. Scholars do not attach much antiquity to the *Padma Purana*,¹¹⁸ but the *Matsya Purana* mentions it at several places and stresses the need of its recitation at several auspicious occasions.¹¹⁹ So this Purana also does not seem to be very ancient.
4. Irrelevant account of this story in this Purana also proves

that the story was interpolated later on. The account of the Purana maintains that Bharata cursed Urvashi to fall down to the earth in the form of a creeper for 55 years—*Lata-suksma bhavisyati*.¹²⁰ But it is curious to note how, at her own sweet will and contrary to the curse of Bharata, she became a woman and bore eight sons to her lover Pururavas.¹²¹

5. The Purana mentions the curse of Artha and Kama to Pururavas due to which he had to suffer in the Kumaravana when separated from his beloved Urvashi.¹²² But it is surprising to note that he had never such a chance to suffer in the Kumaravana owing to his separation from Urvashi. It seems that the 'Kumaravana episode' of Kalidasa influenced the compiler of the Purana who tried to incorporate this episode into his Purana but could not succeed fully.

6. The Purana adds that Urvashi bore eight sons to Pururavas,¹²³ but Kalidasa's account proves that she gave birth to only one child named Ayu.¹²⁴

Thus the above mentioned illogical and inconsistent account of the Purana, proves that the *Matsya Purana* did not contain any such episode originally and that the latter was interpolated in the text later on after the works of Kalidasa had gained much popularity.

A critical analysis of the above statement shows that neither the Vedic nor the Puranic and nor even the *Kathasaritsagara* version of the story, was the source of Kalidasa. Most probably the *Ramayana* version of the story proved helpful to Kalidasa in framing the skeleton of the story of his drama. We shall discuss this point in the sequel:

Ramayana:

The *Ramayana* version of the story drops all the conditions laid down by the Vedic and the Puranic versions. It mentions the curse of Mitra owing to which Urvashi came to the earth, lived with Pururavas and bore a son to him and ultimately returned to the heaven.¹²⁵ The gist of the *Ramayana* version of the story is as follows:

1. Once Mitra asked Urvashi to come to him for sexual intercourse at a mutually agreed time, but she did not pay much attention to his request.

2. While she was playing in the Varunalaya, Varuna saw her and was enchanted by her beauty. He expressed his ardent desire to cohabit with her. But when she declined to offer herself to him, he discharged his semen in a Jar.

3. When Urvasi attended sage Mitra, the latter got enraged with her misconduct and cursed her to fall from the heaven and go to the earth. Later on, when pacified, he proposed the modification that she should attend *Rajarsi* Pururavas, the son of Budha. Due to this curse, Urvasi came to the 'Pratisthana' and lived with Pururavas. She bore a son, Ayu, to him. When the period of her curse came to an end, she returned to the heaven.¹²⁶

It seems that Kalidasa was highly influenced by this story of the *Ramayana*. The following points would prove that he must have been in touch with the *Ramayana* version of the story while writing his drama *Vikramorvashiyan*:

1. Kalidasa has used the epithet 'Rajarsi' for Pururavas,¹²⁷ which is almost unknown to all the versions of the story except to that of the *Ramayana*.¹²⁸

2. According to the account of Kalidasa, king Pururavas, married the daughter of 'Kasiraja'.¹²⁹ Other versions of this story are quite silent on this point. It is the *Ramayana* version alone which has used the epithet 'Kasiraja' for Pururavas.¹³⁰ Probably, Pururavas had received a part of the kingdom of 'Kasiraja', his father-in-law, in the form of dowry and had therefore, acquired the right to assume the epithet 'Kasiraja.'

3. Puranic version of the story ascribes several sons to Urvasi.¹³¹ It is only the *Ramayana* version which says that she gave birth to only one son.¹³²

4. When Urvasi was cursed that she should come to the earth and live with Pururavas, the conditions laid down by the Vedic and the Puranic versions seem to be unnatural. Due to the curse she was bound to live with Pururavas. It, therefore, seems quite unreasonable to propose certain conditions and get them granted by Pururavas. The *Ramayana* version of the story omits all the conditions and maintains that she lived with Pururavas unconditionally for a long time.¹³³

Thus, on the ground of above arguments, it is established that Kalidasa followed the *Ramayana* version of this story for

the development of the theme of his Trotaka *Vikramorvasiyam*. Probably he had also sought the help of other popular legends prevalent in his age while presenting the love affair of Pururavas and Urvashi.

Kumaravana episode :

According to the account of Kalidasa, Kartikeya, who was leading a life of celibacy in the Kumaravana, made it a point that the woman who entered into his hermitage would turn into a creeper.¹³¹ Urvashi entered into his hermitage and was turned into a creeper.¹³⁵

This episode seems to be based on the 'Haravana episode' of the *Ramayana*.¹³⁵ According to the *Ramayana*, once, Siva, with a view to enjoying his consort Parvati turned his neighbours into women and made it a point that whosoever entered into that forest would turn into a woman. Once, in the course of hunting, Ila, the son of Kardama entered into that forest and was turned into a woman.¹³⁷

The *Ramayana* further adds that Ila performed a horse sacrifice and got rid of that curse and again became a man.¹³⁸

We see that the motif of change is the same in both the stories. Ila and Urvashi both violated the conditions and as a result they turned into woman and creeper respectively. It is here interesting to note that both the accounts are connected with the same family of Siva.

Thus, this episode of the *Ramayana* might have been helpful to Kalidasa in developing the Kumaravana episode of *Vikramorvasiyam*.

Innovations of Kalidasa :

To give a beautiful touch to the romance of Pururavas and Urvashi and to make it more comprehensible to the eyes of spectators, Kalidasa makes certain important innovations in the original story of *Vikramorvasiyam*. For instance, the following innovations became helpful to him in developing the theme of the Trotaka.

1. Pururava's worship of sun-god and rescuing by him the apsaras, Urvashi and Citralekha, from the demon Kesi.
2. The enactment of *Laksmi-svayamvara* play.
3. For testing the love of Pururavas, Kalidasa makes Urvashi change into a creeper.

4. To unite the two lovers, Kalidasa invents the 'Samgaman-iya gem'.
5. Urvasi's keeping her son away in the hermitage.
6. The introduction of the eagle and its death at the hands of Ayu.

Thus some innovations in the original story of Pururavas and Urvasi, made the dramatic plot more comprehensible and compact. Kalidasa as a skilful dramatist seems to allow these innovations in the story, only to give a psychological touch to it.

Besides these additions, Kalidasa seems to be indebted to the story of *Ramayana*, for the development of the story of *Vikramorvasiyam*. In this context, a couplet of the *Ramayana*, Uttara Kanda;

Budhasya putro Rajarsih Kasirajah Pururava,

*Tam abhyagaccha durbuddhe sa te bharta bhavisyati,*¹³⁹

seems to influence Kalidasa to compose a Trotake, based on the story of love affair of Pururavas and Urvasi.

MALAVIKAGNIMITRA M

The story of *Malavikagnimitram* is historical. The hero of the drama, Agnimitra, is a historical personage. He comes from the Sunga dynasty.¹¹⁰ The name of Sungas is of considerable antiquity, for it occurs in so ancient a text as the *Vamsa Brahmana*.¹¹¹ The *Asvalayana Srauta-sutra*¹¹² and the grammar of Panini¹⁴³ also refer to this historical dynasty.

Pusyamitra :

Pusyamitra, the father of the hero Agnimitra, founded the Sunga kingdom at about 184 B. C. after assassinating the last Maurya king, Brhadratha.¹⁴¹ Three main events of his rule are worth mentioning. These are: horse-sacrifice,¹¹⁵ battle with 'Yavanas'¹¹⁶ and conquest of Vidarbha.¹⁴⁷

Patanjali, while commenting on Panini III.2.123 refers to his horse-sacrifice, in which Patanjali himself acted as a priest.¹¹⁸ According to the Puranic texts, he ruled for about 36 years.¹¹⁹

Buddhist tradition, as preserved in the *Divyavadana* and in the works of Taranatha, depicts Pusyamitra as a great persecutor of Buddhists. According to *Divyavadana*, Pusyamitra, acting on the line suggested by his Brahmana adviser, made it a point to eliminate Buddhism from the surface of the earth. It describes how once he went to destroy the great monastery, known as Kukkutarama, at Pataliputra, but was frightened by a roar and, thus, returned immediately. Later on, he marched with his army, destroying ~~stupas~~, burning monasteries and killing monks up to Sakala. At Sakala he is said to have announced a reward of one hundred Dinaras for every Buddhist head.¹⁵⁰

Invasion of Yavanas :

The *Yuga Purana*—Gargi Samhita has a brief account of the Yavana invasion.¹⁵¹ According to it a valiant Greek ran over Saketa, Pancala and Mathura and reached Pataliputra. But he could not reap the fruits of his military success and was forced to return

on account of a dreadful battle breaking out amongst his soldiers.¹⁵²

The memory of this Greek invasion was still green at the time Patanjali was writing his *Mahabhasya*. That is why he illustrated the use of the imperfect tense by referring to an incident of recent occurrence and gave the following examples;

'*Arunad Yavano Saketam, Arunad Yavano Madhyamikam*'.¹⁵³
Agnimitra :

According to the *Vayu Purana*, Pusyamitra handed over his kingdom to his son, Agnimitra.¹⁵⁴ At the time of his father, Agnimitra acted as a viceroy of Vidisa. After the death of his father he ruled for about eight years. Beyond this, little is known authentically about his rule. The fourth king of this dynasty is said to be Vasumitra, the son of Agnimitra.

According to the *Visnu Purana*, the last king of this dynasty was Devabhuti who was killed by his minister Vasudeva.¹⁵⁵ Thus, the rule of the Sungas came to an end and the kingdom of Magadha passed into the hands of an assassin, Vasudeva.

Other Characters :

The Characters Pusyamitra, Agnimitra, Vasumitra etc. are, undoubtedly, historical. Yajnasena, Madhavasena and Sumati also seem to be historical, although history does not make any mention of them. Birasena and Maurya Saciva also seem to be historical. Among female characters, Malavika, Dharini, Vasulaksmi, Iravati etc., too, seem to be historical. Other characters of this drama are Kalidasa's own innovations.

In the Puranic literature, there is a brief account of the Sungas. The Puranas—Visnu,¹⁵⁶ Matsya,¹⁵⁷ Vaya,¹⁵⁸ Brahma¹⁵⁹ and Bhagavata¹⁶⁰ describe the kings of this dynasty, but these accounts are too brief and inadequate to constitute the source of Kalidasa's theme. Probably Kalidasa borrowed the story from tell-tales of his time.

LOVE AFFAIR OF MALAVIKA

Kathasaritsagara :

The love affair of Malavika in *Malavikagnimitram* resembles the love affair of Manjulika as described in the *Kathasaritsagara*. The *Kathasaritsagara* of Somadeva is said to be an authentic Sanskrit version of the *Bhaktkatha* of Gunadhya. In the *Kathasaritsagara*, the story of the love affair of Udayana and Manjulika runs as follows :

Once the brother of Vasavadutta sent to her a princess he had captured in an invasion. The princess was known as Bandhumati. She had a fair complexion. The queen, Vasavadutta, kept her identity secret and declared her as Manjulika. One day king Udayana saw her in a grove in the garden and was attracted by her beauty. He, however, managed successfully to get her hand by way of Gandharva marriage. One day Vasavadutta noticed that Udayana was making love with Manjulika. She, however, found it out that the jester, Vasantaka, played an important role in uniting them in that way. She was highly enraged on Vasantaka and so caught hold of him and took him into her custody. Then the king, having no other alternative, called on Paribrajika, who had been very close to Vasavadutta since long. On his request, Paribrajika, pacified Vasavadutta and asked her to hand over Manjulika to Udayana. Vasavadutta, being tender-hearted, accepted her proposal and handed over Manjulika to her husband, Udayana.¹⁶¹

As is evident from the above account, the story of the love affair of Manjulika is quite in keeping with that of the story of love affair of Malavika. The following points are quite common in both the stories :

1. Both, Malavika¹⁶² and Manjulika¹⁶³ were presented by their brothers to their respective sisters. Malavika was presented by Birasena to his sister Dharini, and Manjulika by Gopalaka to his sister Vasavadutta.
2. Malavika and Manjulika, both were assisted by Paribrajikas.¹⁶⁴
3. In the love affair, both the lovers, Agnimitra and Udayana were assisted by their jesters.¹⁶⁵
4. Both the girls and both the jesters were taken into custody by the queens.¹⁶⁶
5. Ultimately, both the queens, Dharini and Vasavadutta were pleased to hand over the girls to their respective husbands.¹⁶⁷

Besides, the names, Malavika and Manjulika are also quite akin to each other. Though, there is every possibility of Kalidasa's being aware of any other authentic source of this story, but until it is traced it is difficult to say that he took the aid of a particular

source in developing the theme of this drama. So far as the case of the *Kathasaritsagara* is concerned its story is quite parallel to that of Kalidasa. Since, scholars are not in agreement regarding the date of Kalidasa, it is difficult to maintain that *Kathasaritsagara* served as the source of Kalidasa. If, actually he sprang after the date of Gunadhyā, the story of the *Kathasaritsagara* may be the best source.

Natyacaryas:

Two Natyacaryas, Haradutta and Ganadasa,¹⁶⁸ seem to be the embodiments of dramatic art. They are the inventions of Kalidasa. They help in the development of the plot and give Malavika an opportunity to perform the classical dance. Thus, by giving a clear exposure to her limbs, she became more attractive to the eyes of her lover, Agnimitra.

In this respect, Kalidasa seems to be influenced by the *Natyashastra* of Bharata.¹⁶⁹ Probably he invented the Natyacaryas, Haradutta and Ganadasa, only with a view to giving a practical shape to the dramatic cannons of Bharata.

CHAPTER III

LYRICS

M E G H A D U T A M

R T U S A M H A R A

MEGHADUTAM

Sa samksipyā atmanah kayam jimutam iva Marutih.

Tasmin muhurte Hanumana babhuva angusthamatrakah.

Rama. Su. Kan. V. I. 167.

The word *Duta* has been used frequently in the Vedic literature.¹ The conception of *Duta* in the Post-Vedic literature, seems to be rooted in the *Vedas*.

Rgveda:

A fragmentary account of *Duta*—messenger is found in the *Rgveda* X. 95.² There, the person, offering oblations, urges gods to let the pigeon, the messenger of the goddess of evil, be peaceful to his two-footed and four-footed animals and not commit any sinful act on his house. He also implores upon the pigeon not to create any trouble in his kitchen and not to kill him. On the other hand, he should rather be pleasant to his men and cattle.³

He further prays that whatever the *owl*, the messenger of the goddess of evil, speaks and what for the pigeon enters into the fire-cell, should prove ineffective. He also prays to the god of Death to persuade him to leave his house and keep away from him as soon as possible.⁴

Again, in the *Rgveda* X. 108. we come across the conception of another messenger. According to this account, once, the cows of Brhaspati were stolen by *Panis* and were kept in a cavern. Indra, when asked by Brhaspati sent a divine bitch named *Sarama* to find them out. *Sarama* crossed the river and reached *Balapura* where the cows were concealed in a secret place. *Panis*, however, came to know of the arrival of *Sarama*. They tried their best to take her into their confidence, but all their efforts to seduce her were in vain.⁵ In the *Rgveda* V. 61. also, there is another instance of a messenger in which Rsi Syavasva sends his message of love to the daughter of Rathaviti. Here night acts as the messenger.⁶ But, in spite of their antiquity, these instances do not seem to be the source of Kalidasa's idea of messenger.

Mahabharata :

In the Vana Parva of the *Mahabharata*, there is a Swan-messenger who plays an important role in uniting Nala and Damayanti with each other. At first, the swan praises king Nala before Damayanti. Hearing the praise of Nala, Damayanti falls in love with him. She then conveys her message of love to Nala. The swan again flies in the sky and reaches the place of Nala. It conveys the message of Damayanti to him and describes her virtues and beauty. Nala, thus, becomes extremely anxious to see and marry her. In due course, this love affair of Nala and Damayanti results in their marriage.⁷ But Kalidasa does not seem to follow this story in the execution of the theme of his cloud-messenger.

Bhagavata :

In the *Bhagavata Purana*, there are several references to messengers, i. e. Uddhava-duta⁸, Rukmini-duta⁹ and Meghaduta¹⁰ etc. In this context, the *Meghaduta* of Gopikas, as found in the *Bhagavata Purana*, is in close resemblance to that of Kalidasa. We find Gopikas addressing the cloud in the same manner as does the Yaksa. The whole address is put in the Mandakranta metre by the compiler of the *Purana*.¹¹ But, the antiquity of this *Purana* is not beyond doubt. It is, therefore, difficult to maintain that Kalidasa used this *Purana* as the source of his lyric *Meghadutam*.

Kama-sutra :

In the *Kama-sutra*, Vatsyayana suggests to a lover to send a messenger to his beloved and vice versa.¹² He also stresses the need of its being quick-witted, adept and skilful. He is required to be able to mould the desired girl and seduce her according to the wishes of the lover. Vatsyayana suggests that the messenger should be endowed with presence of mind so that he might escape the difficulties created by the rivals.¹³

This idea of Vatsyayana might have been of some consequence to Kalidasa, but it does not seem to be a sufficient source of his cloud-messenger.

Ghatakarpura :

Ghatakarpura, the Yamaka-kavya, gives the idea of a messenger but through a process contrary to that adopted by Kalidasa.¹⁴ In this

work a woman sends her message of love to her lover. There the cloud is addressed in the same specific way as in the *Meghadutam* of Kalidasa. It is just possible that Kalidasa might have been acquainted with this work, but still it does not seem to be the source of his *Meghadutam*.

Jatakas :

Jataka stories, which deal with the life history of Buddha, have many references to messengers. These accounts might have been the source of later writers of "Dutakavyas." The *Jataka* stories are considered to have been preserved in the folk-lore and were compiled, later on, by the followers of Buddha. Some of these stories are quite close to the story of *Meghadutam* of Kalidasa.¹⁵

Kama-vilapa :

A man, asked by his beloved to bring the flowers of her choice, enters into a Conservatory. While he is plucking flowers, he is caught red-handed and is brought to the court of the king. The king announces capital punishment for him and orders, that he be eaten alive by crows. The man gets extremely worried. Crows sit on his head and thrust their beaks into his eyes. However, disappointed with his life, he addresses a crow and urges it to convey his message to his lovely wife.¹⁶ He addresses the crow thus :

"O bird, that fliest in the sky,
 O winged bird, that fliest high.
 Tell my wife, with thighs so fair,
 Long will seem the time to her."
 "She knows not Sword and Spear are set,
 Full wroth and angry, she will fret.
 That is my torment and my fear,
 And not that I am hanging here."
 "My Lotus-mail, I have put by,
 And Jewels in my pillow lie.
 And soft Benares cloth beside,
 With wealth let her be Satisfied."¹⁷
 With these lamentations, he died.

Kalanduka :

In this *Jataka*, a parrot, as an envoy, is sent by a business-man to find out his missing servant.¹⁸ The story of this *Jataka* runs as follows.

Kalanduka, the slave of a treasurer of Varanasi ran away. He began to enjoy himself on a daughter of a border merchant. The treasurer could not trace him out. So he sent a young parrot to search him out. The parrot, searching him far and wide, reached the town where that slave dwelt. The parrot found him on the bank of a river. He sat upon a twig of a fig tree. He cried aloud "Come Slave, remember who and what you are." Then Kalanduka was very much afraid of being exposed. He exclaimed "Ah master, when did you arrive?" But the parrot was witty enough. It did not come to the hands of Kalanduka. It again flew to Varanasi and communicated the whole news to his master.¹⁹

Kuttani :

The king of Kosala had a bird envoy. It used to convey his master's message to other kings whenever asked to do so. Once, when it returned to its place after conveying the message from a distant place, it found its infants dead. The bird was highly enraged on this event. Consequently it left the court of the king and went to a distant place.²⁰

Maha-ummagā:

In this *Jataka*, we have the account of Pancala Candi, a woman of fair complexion. Following the order of Pancala Candi, a few birds went to the lands of Videhas and admired her beauty. The king of Videhas heard the admiration of Pancala Candi from the mouths of the birds and was highly impressed. Consequently he fell in love with her. Thus with the help of Pancala Candi and the birds, Pancalas who were at daggers drawn with Videhas, were able to control the king of Videhas.²¹

These *Jataka* stories have the seed of 'Dutakavyas' in them, no doubt, but it is difficult to say that the great poet Kalidasa derived his inspiration from them. Besides, we do not have any other reference to *Jataka* stories or Buddhist literature in his works. Moreover, the antiquity of *Jataka* literature is not beyond doubt. In fact, Kalidasa does not seem to have had any connection with the *Jataka* literature.

Yogavasishta :

In the *Yogavasishta*, a lover separated from his wife asks a cloud to convey his message to his beloved. He also asks him to console her with his showers of rain.²² The whole account of this

Sources of Kalidasa

story resembles with that of Kalidasa's *Meghadutam*. A few verses are almost common in both the texts.²³

But it is difficult to maintain that Kalidasa took the idea of his cloud-messenger from this work; for, scholars do not consider it to be a work of antiquity.²⁴ Moreover, this work is not free from later interpolations. The Nirvana Prakarana of it (Chapters 52-56) is directly borrowed from the *Gita*.²⁵ The philosophical thoughts of this work are quite similar to the Vedanta philosophy of Sankara. It seems that this work was compiled on the pattern of the philosophy of Sankara. Therefore, this work does not seem to be the source of Kalidasan literature.

Ramayana & Meghaduta :

Kalidasa seems to have taken the idea of his cloud-messenger from the *Ramayana*. In the *Ramayana*, while en route to Lanka, in the quest of Sita, Hanumana is several times compared with cloud thus :

"Susubhe Megha samkasah,"²⁶ "Babhau Megha ivodyan vai vid-yud-ganavibhusitah,"²⁷ "Jimutam iva garjati,"²⁸ "Ambarastham vivabhrage Sarad abhramiva atatam,"²⁹ "Svetabhraghana rajiva,"³⁰ "Urasa patayamasa Jimutamiva Marutih,"³¹ "Tam drsiva Meghasam-kasam dasayojanamayatam,"³² "Sasamksipy a atmanah kayam jimutam iva Marutih"³³ and "Vyavardhat mahakayah pravrsva Balahakah."³⁴ Apart from this, Kalidasa himself refers to the *Ramayana* several times in this lyric. For instance, "Janakanaya-snana-punyodakesu,"³⁵ "Ityakhya te pavanatanayam Maithilivonmukhi sa."³⁶ etc. In this context he compares the cloud with Hanumana and the Yaksini with Sita.³⁷ Besides, a few other facts affirm the idea that Kalidasa is actually indebted to the *Ramayana* of Valmiki for his idea of croud-messenger. These facts are as follows :

1. In the *Ramayana*, Rama, when separated from Sita, became highly aggrieved at the advent of the rainy season.³⁸ It is equally true in the case of Yaks. He also became anxious and aggrieved in this season.³⁹ In this context, the expressions "Samayo-dya jalagamah"⁴⁰ and "Asadhasya prathamadivase,"⁴¹ convey similar meaning in both the texts.

2. Hanumana, the messenger of Rama, appeared in the sky as if he were a mountain.⁴² In the same way, the cloud of *Meghadutam* appeared in the sky as if it were a mountain peak carried away by wind.⁴³

3. In the *Ramayana*, Lanka is supposed to be the heaven on the earth—Mahitale Svargam iva prakirnam.⁴⁴ Similarly, Alaka, in *Meghadutam*, is described as a beautiful portion of the heaven—Divah kantimat khandam ekam.⁴⁵

4. In the *Ramayana*, Sita is compared with a streak of the moon—Dadarsa Suklapaks adau Candralekham ivamalam.⁴⁶ In *Meghadutam*, the Yaksini is also compared with the same : Kalamatresesam Himansoh.⁴⁷ In this context, the words and the meanings of both the texts are quite similar.

5. In the *Ramayana*, the eye of Sita is compared with a lotus which is disturbed by a swimming fish—Minahatam padmam iva.⁴⁸ Similarly, the eye of the Yaksini is also compared with such a lotus—Minaksobhaccalakubalya sritulam esyatiti.⁴⁹ In this case too, the similes of both the texts are quite identical and denote the same meaning.

6. Again, in the *Ramayana*, Sita is compared with a 'Cakravaki' which is separated from her lover—Sahacara-rahiteva Cakravaki... Janaka-tanaya krpanam dasam prapanna.⁵⁰ Similarly, in *Meghadutam*, the Yaksini is also compared with such a Cakravaki—Duribhute mayi sahacare Cakravakim ivaikam.⁵¹ In this context also, the text and the sense of both the works are quite similar.

7. In the *Ramayana*, Sita is compared with a lotus flower which is disfigured due to the fall of snow—Himahata-naliniva nastasobha.⁵² Similarly, the Yaksini in *Meghadutam* is also compared with such a lotus flower—Sisira-mathitam padminim vanyarupam.⁵³ In this respect too, the similes and expressions of both the texts are quite identical.

On the above ground, it is established that the Yaksini of *Meghadutam* is portrayed on the pattern of Sita of the *Ramayana*.

8. Besides, in the *Ramayana*, Valmiki draws a beautiful picture of cranes flying in the sky—

"Meghabhikama parisampatanti sammodita bhati balakapanktih.

Vatavadhuta varapaundariki lambeva mala racitambarasya.⁵⁴"

Kalidasa also draws a similar picture of cranes flying in the sky:

"Garbhadhanaksana paricayan nunam abaddhamalah.
Sevisyante nayana subhagam khe bhavantam balakah."⁵⁵

Besides, in this context, a few other expressions of both the texts are quite identical i.e. "Mahi vaspam vimuncati"⁵⁶, and "Muncato vaspam usnam,"⁵⁷ "Mahatsu srngesu Mahidharanam visramya visramya punah prayanti"⁵⁸ and "Khinnah khinnah sikhariisu padam nyasya gantasi yatra etc."⁵⁹

From the above account, it is evident that the whole story of the Yaksa and Yaksini is portrayed on the pattern of the story of Rama and Sita. One can easily compare them in the following way:

Rama
Sita
Hanumana

Rama was exiled because of the anger of Kaikeyi.

Rama was separated from his wife for a year.

Rama lived on the hill, Prasravana.

Rama had only four months of Rainy season to be passed.

The journey of Hanumana through the sky.

Rama felt anxious at the advent of the rainy season.

Lanka was the destination of Hanumana.

Yaksa
Yaksini
Cloud

The Yaksa was exiled because of the anger of Kubera.

So was the Yaksa.

The Yaksa lived on the hill, Ramagiri.

So had the Yaksa.

The same in the case of the Cloud.

So did the Yaksa.

Alaka was the destination of the Cloud.

Apart from this, a couplet of the *Ramayana*, Sundara Kanda:

Sa samkksipyatmanah kayam jimutam iva Marutih'
*Tasmin muhurte Hanumanabahuva angusthamatrakah,*⁶⁰

wherein Hanumana, the messenger of Rama, is compared with a Cloud, seems to constitute the source of Kalidasa's poem.

RTU SAMHARA

Rtusamhara is a lyric poem in which all the six seasons are described beautifully. These seasons are : Grisma, Varsa, Sarada, Hemanta, Sisira and Vasanta.⁶¹ These are frequently mentioned in the *Ramayana*⁶² and the Puranic literature.⁶³ The Caraka Samhita also has a detailed account of them.⁶⁴

Ramayana:

In the *Ramayana*, three main seasons : Varsa,⁶⁵ Sarada⁶⁶ and Hemanta⁶⁷ are described at length. The whole account of these seasons in the *Ramayana* is impressive, no doubt, but, it is difficult to say that Kalidasa took the aid of the *Ramayana* in depicting six seasons in his poem. He seems to have depicted these seasons in his poem out of his personal experience.

Visnu Purana:

The *Visnu Purana* also has a vivid account of some seasons⁶⁸. Particularly it depicts Sarada at length. The account of Sarada in this Purana seems to be original. But, it does not mean that Kalidasa took the aid of this Purana in depicting all the six seasons in his poem. Perhaps, Kalidasa has made use exclusively of his own experience and wide knowledge in giving an account of the seasons.

BOOK II

DIFFERENT THOUGHTS
ARTS
&
SCIENCES

CHAPTER IV

MYTHS

LOKALOKA

The mountain Lokaloka is considered to be a fabulous one.¹ It is said that one portion of this mountain is illuminated while the other one remains dark. King Dilipa compares himself with the mountain Lokaloka in the sense that one phase of his life is bright on account of performing sacrifices while the other is dark in the absence of a son.² According to the Puranas,³ this mountain is an authority which divides the visible world from the invisible.⁴ The *Matsya Purana* gives the following location of this fabulous mountain :

In the other part of the Puskara, there is a great ocean which encircles it. This ocean is full of sweet water. It is again encircled by a mountain range called Lokaloka. The mountain Lokaloka has two sides : the bright one and the dark one.⁵

The *Visnu Purana* also has the same account,⁶ but the account of the *Matsya Purana* is quite in keeping with that of Kalidasa.⁷ The expressions, "Prakasas caprakasasca Lokaloka ivacalah"⁸ and—"Prakasas caprakasas ca Lokalokas sa ucycate⁹"—are quite identical in *Raghuvamsa* and the *Purana*. Thus, they affirm the view that there is some sort of kinship between the two works. Probably, the compiler of the *Purana* was in touch with the works of Kalidasa and learnt them by heart. This is, Probably, how he could borrow this expression from his work and use it as his own.¹⁰

Besides, the *Vayu Purana* also gives a clear account of this mountain range. It maintains that this mountain is that which prevents the light of the heavenly luminaries from passing beyond it.¹¹

Thus, Kalidasa seems to have taken the idea of Lokaloka from some legends popular in his age. He might have been acquainted with the Puranic literature, but, in the absence of sufficient evidence, it is difficult to say that he took the aid of a particular *Purana* in describing this mountain.

MERU¹²

Kalidasa's account gives the Meru the status of the mightiest amongst all worldly objects, the brightest amongst all luminaries.

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and the highest amongst all elevated things.¹³ Kalidasa also refers to the episode of Prthu, who ordered the milking of the earth as a cow. In this task, the Meru was appointed as the milk-man.¹⁴ Thus, in the eyes of Kalidasa the Meru has two aspects,¹⁵ one belonging to the 'Sthavaras' and the other to the 'Jamgamas'.¹⁶ Also, in his view, the Meru is a mountain of gold.¹⁷

A detailed account of the Meru is found in the *Mahabharata* and the Puranas.¹⁸ According to the *Visnu Purana*, it is a mountain-range of 84,000 yojanas in height and 32,000 in breadth. Towards the north of it, there are Nila, Sveta and Srngi Varsaparvatas—towards its south, there are Himavana, Hemakuta and Nisadha 'Parvatas' and countries, Bharata-varsa, Kimpurusa Varsa and Hari Varsa. Towards its north, there are Ramyaka, Hiranmaya and Uttarakuru Varsas. Encircling the Meru stands the Ilavarta extending 9,000 Yojanas. There are also four mountains on its four sides, i. e. Mandaracala in the east, Gandhamadana in the south, Vipula in the west and Suparsva in the north. On its four sides, there are four forests, Caitraratha, Gandhamadana, Vaibhrama and Nandana. There are also four reservoirs : Arunoda, Mahabhadra, Asitoda and Manasa on its four sides. On its four ranges, there are four great trees, Mango, Jambu, Kadamba and Banyan and four stocks of, milk, honey, sugarcane and water. Encircling the whole range of the Meru, stand two hills on each sides. Towards the south, there are Jathara and Devakutas, towards the west Nisadha and Pariyatara, towards the east Kailasa and Gandhamadana and towards the north, Trisrnga and Jarudhi. The Meru is considered to be one of the seven *Varsaparvatas* of the Jambudvipa, occupying the middle position.¹⁹

The *Matsya Purana*²⁰ and the *Brahmanda Purana*²¹ present a different picture of this mountain. There, the Meru is assigned the responsibility of the milk-man in the task of milking the cow-earth. Kalidasa has referred to this episode of milking the cow-earth, in his *Kumarasambhavam*.²²

Thus it is evident that Kalidasa was fully acquainted with the text of the *Visnu Purana*, for it is only this Purana which throws much light on different phases of the mountain Meru. Thus, Kalidasa, probably, took the idea of the Meru from this Purana.

CANDRAMAS

According to the accounts of Kalidasa, *Candramas*—moon is the lustre having arisen out of the eyes of sage Atri.²³ Kalidasa maintains that the moon has different aspects of life.²⁴ At a few places, she is referred to as a male, and at others, as a female. At one place, Kalidasa refers to her being married with twenty six daughters of Prajapati²⁵. It is also said that when she is in her full form, nectar oozes from her, and gods along with *pitr*s drink it to their heart's content.²⁶ At another place, Kalidasa refers to the curse of Prajapati pronounced on the moon.²⁷ The moon is also supposed to provide nourishment to different vegetations.²⁸ Thus, in the eyes of Kalidasa, the moon bears different aspects of life.

Such ideas regarding the characteristics of the moon are abundantly found in the *Mahabharata*²⁹ and the *Puranas*.³⁰ According to the *Brahmanda Purana*, the moon, born of the eye of Atri, was honoured by Siva and Parvati.³¹ She had been borne by the Directions for 300 years, and when released became an 'Amsa' of Brahma. Brahma took her to his abode in his celestial chariot where Risis adorned her and made her their king.³²

The *Matsya Purana* also has the same account. It says that the moon has sprung from the eyes of sage Atri.³³

According to the *Mahabharata*, the moon married twenty seven daughters of Daksa Prajapati.³⁴ It also recounts how the moon was cursed by Daksa and was subjected to the disease Yaksma.³⁵ The *Brahmanda Purana* refers to her as being drunk by gods and *Pitrs*.³⁶ Thus, in the *Mahabharata* and the *Puranas*, there is a detailed account of the different aspects of the life of the moon. Probably, Kalidasa had a thorough knowledge of the *Mahabharata* and the *Puranas* which enabled him to form such ideas regarding the moon.

SAGE KAPILA & SIXTY THOUSAND SONS OF SAGARA

Kalidasa refers to this episode in *Raghuvamsa*.³⁷ The Kapila episode is frequently referred to in the *Ramayana*,³⁸ the *Mahabharata*³⁹ and the *Puranas*.⁴⁰

According to the *Ramayana*, after completing his 99th horse sacrifice, king Sagara started the 100th one. In this horse sacrifice, the horse was stolen by Indra and was kept behind sage Kapila who was practising penance in the Patala. In the absence of the sacrificial horse, the priests were annoyed. They asked the king to find out the sacrificial horse. King Sagara ordered his 60,000 sons to trace the horse. In the course of searching out the horse, the sons of the king wandered the whole of the earth but could not trace it. Getting disappointed, they returned to their father and informed him that the horse could not be traced. The king rebuked them and ordered them to go and continue the search until the horse was recovered. Accordingly they went again and tried their best. When the horse was not available on the earth, they dug through it and entered into the Patala, where they saw the horse was grazing beside Kapila. They felt offended and began to tease the sage. When highly disturbed, the sage opened his eyes and turned them to ashes.⁴¹

With slight variation, this story is repeated in the *Mahabharata*.⁴² It adds that the sacrificial horse of king Sagara, while wandering hither and thither, suddenly disappeared on the coast of the sea. Then the guards of the horse returned to the king and told him how the horse had disappeared. The king ordered them to find out the horse.⁴³ The rest of the story is the same as that of the *Ramayana*.

The *Visnu Purana* also has a vivid account of this story.⁴⁴ It does not differ very much from its versions found in the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. It adds that an unknown person carrying the sacrificial horse entered into the Patala. Following the foot-prints of the horse, the sons of the king also went there. They saw the horse grazing beside sage Kapila. Taking Kapila to be the culprit, they tried to disturb him by uproarious noise. The sage got annoyed. He turned his eyes towards them and reduced them to ashes.⁴⁵

Kalidasa's idea of the Kapila episode is based on the *Visnu Purana*. Following are the reasons for this contention:—

1. The *Ramayana* accuses Indra for taking away the sacrificial horse of Sagara and putting it beside sage Kapila in the Patala.⁴⁶

2. The *Mahabharata* does not directly mention the name of any person who takes the horse to the Patala.⁴⁷
3. The *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* both recognize Kapila as the incarnation of Visnu.⁴⁸
4. Kalidasa recognizes him as a sage,⁴⁹ as does the *Visnu Purana*.⁵⁰

So, it may be established that Kalidasa took the aid of the *Visnu Purana* in depicting the Kapila episode in his poem.

KARTAVIRYA EPISODE

According to the accounts of Kalidasa, Kartavirya was a king of ascetic virtues: Whenever he went to the battlefield, he was gifted with one thousand additional arms.⁵¹ He erected his sacrificial pillars in all the 18 islands.⁵² He was such a warrior that none of the kings dared declare himself as a king in his presence. He punished the wicked and sinners without fail. Even Ravana, the great king of Rakshasas, was imprisoned by him. His twenty arms were tied with the bowstring. He was set free on the request of his grand father.⁵³ Once Kartavirya paid a visit to the hermitage of Jamadagni and was given a warm reception by Renuka. But, he gave an ill return to it and forfeited the calf of her cow.⁵⁴

There are different sources of this story. The *Ramayana* version of the story mentions only about the encounter of Kartavirya with Ravana and excludes the Renuka episode.⁵⁵ According to it, once, Kartavirya was sporting with his wives in the river, Narmada. At that time, Ravana reached the bank of the river, broke his journey there and began to worship Lord Siva. To his utter amazement, his flowers of worship were taken away by the current of the river which was turned to his side, by Kartavirya's one thousand arms. Ravana ordered his ministers to find out the reason why the current was flowing towards him. They rushed towards the river and noticed that a person, with his thousand arms, was sporting in the river. Being obstructed by his arms the water of the river was being turned to the side of Ravana. Knowing this, Ravana rushed to the spot and looked into the whole affair himself. He told the ministers of Kartavirya that he had come to fight with their king. They asked him to give

up the idea of fighting as their king was sporting with his wives. But Ravana insisted on his proposal. Consequently, an encounter took place between the ministers of Kartavirya and Ravana. In the battle, the ministers of Kartavirya were killed and eaten by the warriors of Ravana. In the meantime, Kartavirya came out of the water and gave a tough fight to Ravana. Ultimately, he defeated Ravana and caught hold of him. He took him to his capital Mahismati and kept him in prison. But, later on, Ravana was released on the request of his grand father, Pulastyta.⁵⁶

The *Mahabharata* presents the other phase of this story, which is connected with Jamadagni.⁵⁷ It omits the Ravana episode which is found at length in the *Ramayana*.⁵⁸ In the *Mahabharata*, the story runs thus:

Once, when Jamadagni was absent from his hermitage, Kartavirya visited his place. He was received warmly by the wife of the sage. At the time of his departure, Kartavirya took away the calf of the cow of the sage. When Parasurama, the son of Jamadagni, returned to the hermitage, he came to know how Kartavirya had taken away the calf. Being highly enraged, he rushed to the capital of Kartavirya. He cut off the king's thousand arms and returned to his hermitage.⁵⁹

The Puranas also give an account of this episode. According to them, Kartaviya was the son of Krtavirya. He was the ruler of the seven islands. He was a sovereign ruler gifted with thousand arms. He was the disciple of distinguished Yogi Dattatreya. He was famous for his Yogic achievements. He ruled for about 85,000 years.⁶⁰ The *Bhagavata Purana* refers to his sporting in the river Narmada.⁶¹ It also says that he took Ravana captive in his capital, Mahismati and later on, released him on the request of his grand father, Pulastyta.⁶² It also refers to some other phases of the story.⁶³ According to it, once, Kartavirya, in the course of his hunting expedition, came to the hermitage of Jamadagni. Jamadagni entertained him with the help of his *Kamadhenu*. The king wanted to have *Kamadhenu* for himself, but the sage refused to part with it. Then, the king took away the *Kamadhenu* forcibly. When Parasurama heard of this news he rushed to the capital of Kartavirya. In the battle, Parasurama cut off his 1000 arms and killed him. He also recovered his cow along with her calf.⁶⁴ The

Matsya Purana points out that king Kartavirya was renowned for performing thousands of sacrifices and erecting golden *Yupas*.⁶⁵ According to it, he was known as the controller of the water of the river Narmada and the chastiser of Ravana. He established his capital Mahismati on the bank of the river Narmada and ruled for thousands of years in great peace.⁶⁶ The account of this story in the *Brahmanda Purana* tallies with that of the *Bhagavata Purana*. In this Purana, the story of Kartavirya is discussed at length.⁶⁷ But the account of the *Visnu Purana* seems to be quite in keeping with that of Kalidasa. This Purana presents the following picture of the story :

Kartavirya, the son of Krtavirya, also known as Arjuna, worshipped Dattatreya and was blessed with these boons : (i) The possession of one thousand arms, (ii) The victory over the whole of the earth, (iii) The power to chastise wrong people, (iv) The invincibility when confronted by enemies and (v) The death at the hands of a renowned warrior of the earth.⁶⁸ The Purana further adds that he ruled this earth successfully and that no other king equalled him in making sacrifices, austerities and self-restraint. It further adds that he performed 1,0000 sacrifices and ruled this earth along with all its islands.⁶⁹ According to it while once, he was sporting with his wives in the water of the river Narmada, Ravana reached there with a view to fighting with him. Consequently, an encounter took place between Ravana and Kartavirya.⁷⁰ Kartavirya caught hold of him and took him to his capital Mahismati.⁷¹ He ruled for about 85,000 years and was killed by Parasurama.⁷²

From the above account it may be established that Kalidasa followed the *Visnu Purana* while sketching the character of Kartavirya, and the *Mahabharata* while describing the Jamadagni episode.

AGASTYA EPISODE

Kalidasa describes Agastya in three capacities i. e., as one who caused the mountain Vindhya to bow down,⁷³ as one who drank the water of the ocean⁷⁴ and as one who dashed Nahusa down to the earth.⁷⁵ Besides, he is also associated with the star Agastya which brings purification to water.⁷⁶

These qualities of Agastya are referred to in the *Ramayana* at several places.⁷⁷ According to it, Agastya prevented the mountain Vindhya from growing higher in the sky.⁷⁸ The *Mahabharata* also gives a detailed account of this feat of Agastya.⁷⁹ According to it, once mountain Vindhya asked the sun to circumambulate him as he did the Meru. The sun expressed his helplessness and declined to do so.⁸⁰ It made Vindhya angry and he started to grow higher and higher, with a view to obstructing the path of the sun.⁸¹ It made gods annoyed. They approached him and asked him to cease from growing in that way. But the Vindhya did not oblige them. Then the gods, having no way out, approached Agastya and told him⁸² how the Vindhya was growing higher and was obstructing the path of the sun.⁸³ They told him that it was only he who could prevent the mountain from that evil design.⁸⁴ Agastya conceded to their request and visited the Vindhya with his wife Lopamudra.⁸⁵ The mountain paid due respect to them. Agastya asked him to give him the way to the south. The Vindhya did accordingly. He further asked him to remain in the same bent position until he returned.⁸⁶ Saying so, Agastya left him and did not turn back. The mountain, as a humble disciple, has remained in the same state even up to now.⁸⁷

The second aspect of the life of Agastya as described in the *Mahabharata* is as follows :

When Vrtra was killed by Indra, Kaleyas fled to the ocean and made it their abode.⁸⁸ While living in the ocean, they conspired for the total destruction of the world.⁸⁹ At night they used to kill ascetics, and in the day, they concealed themselves in the waters of the ocean.⁹⁰ Gods were extremely terrified by such acts. They went to Narayana and told him how they were being killed.⁹¹ Narayana told them that the demons Kaleyas were killing the ascetics and were concealing themselves in the waters of the ocean.⁹² He suggested to them that they should approach Agastya and request him to drink the waters of the ocean.⁹³ With this suggestion in view, they reached the hermitage of Agastya and communicated to him their grievances. Agastya promised to them to do his best to remove their trouble.⁹⁴ With a view to helping them, he rushed to the ocean along with the gods and

other sages⁹⁵ and, to their amazement, he drank the whole water of the ocean.⁹⁶

The third aspect of the life of Agastya relates to the fall of Nahusa from the heaven.⁹⁷ The *Mahabharata*, Vanaparva has the following account regarding the fall of Nahusa from the heaven :

Once, Nahusa, the king of solar race, attained to the kingdom of Indra by virtue of his sacrifices, austerities and restraints of life.⁹⁸ After attaining to such a high status, he used to move on a palanquin carried by Brahmanas.⁹⁹ Once, Agastya had his turn to carry Nahusa's palanquin. Being slow in his movement, he was asked to go quickly. It made Agastya so enraged that he cursed him to fall down to the earth in the form of a serpent.¹⁰⁰

The other aspect of his life i.e., that of a star which causes purification of¹⁰¹ water, to which Kalidasa alludes, seems to be based on the Ayurvedic text.¹⁰²

The Puranas also give a fragmentary account of the life of Agastya.¹⁰³ The *Brahmanda*, the *Matsya* and the *Bhagavata Purana* mention that he dwarfed the mountain Vindhya and drank the whole water of the ocean.¹⁰⁴

From which we have discussed above, it is evident that the description of Agastya's personality is more vivid and systematic in the *Mahabharata* than anywhere else. It, thus, appears that Kalidasa has followed the account of the *Mahabharata* while delineating different aspects of Agastya's life.

CHURNING OF THE OCEAN

Kalidasa has referred to the churning of the ocean at different places in his works.¹⁰⁵ He observes that as a result of the churning, several gems came out of the ocean.¹⁰⁶ This episode is referred to in the different ancient books.

According to the *Ramayana*, in the Krtayuga Daityas and Adityas decided to churn the ocean, Ksirasagara to obtain ambrosia out of it.¹⁰⁷ They, making Vasuki the rope and the mountain Mandara the churning staff, started to churn it.¹⁰⁸ At first, there appeared the poison 'Halahala' and it created terror amongst Devas, Asuras and Manavas.¹⁰⁹ Devas requested Siva

to accept the poison. Visnu also appeared there and requested Siva on their behalf. Siva conceded to their request and drank the poison.¹¹⁰ Thy again started its churning. Then the churning staff entered into the Patala.¹¹¹ It made gods highly annoyed. They requested Visnu to support the Mandara. He ultimately agreed to do so. He supported the Mandara in the form of a tortoise.¹¹² Thus thousands of years passed and the churning was continued. Ultimately, there appeared Dhanvantari with a *Kamandalu* in his hand.¹¹³ He was followed by several Apsaras.¹¹⁴ The Apsaras were followed by *Varuni*, which was accepted by gods.¹¹⁵ The Uccaisrava, the Kaustubha and the Amrta followed Varuni.¹¹⁶ There was an encounter between the gods and the demons with regard to the drinking of the Amrta.¹¹⁷ Here, Visnu played a trick. Assuming the form of a beautiful lady, he snatched the Amrta from the hands of the demons and gave it to the gods who drank it up. In this contest, the demons were defeated on account of Visnu's trick.¹¹⁸

A similar version of this story is found in the *Mahabharata*.¹¹⁹ According to it, once gods assembled on the summit of the mountain Meru to discuss how the Amrta should be churned out of the ocean.¹²⁰ Narayana suggested to Brahma to churn the ocean with the help of gods and demons.¹²¹ Then the mountain Mandara was made the churning staff while Vasuki was made to serve as the cord.¹²² They, in the course of time, churned out Soma, Candra, Sri, Sura, Turaga, Kaustubha Dhanvantari, Amrta, Airavata, Kalakuta etc.¹²³ The remaining account of this story in the *Mahabharata* is the same as that of the *Ramayana*.

In the Puranas we have the following account of the churning of the ocean :

Hari suggested to gods and demons to churn the ocean with the help of Vasuki and the Mandara. They accepted his suggestion and began to churn it. As a result of the churning, at first, there appeared the poison 'Halahala' which was drunk by Siva. Then came out the Kamadhenu, Uccaisrava, Airavata, Kaustubha, Parijata, Apsaras, Varuni, Sri and Amrta. Then, there was great commotion on both sides to get the Amrta first. Hari, who himself was present there, pondered over the whole situation.

Having no other way out, He assumed the form of a beautiful lady and attracted the eyes of the demons. The demons agreed to work according to the suggestions of the lady. It was agreed upon that the lady should distribute the Amrta amongst the gods and demons. The lady started distributing the Amrta from the side of gods. Rahu guessed her trick. He assumed the form of a god and drank the Amrta sitting in the row of gods. The sun and the moon pointed him out to Hari. Hari cut off Rahu's head with his *Cakra*.¹²¹

Thus, this episode is elaborately alluded to in the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* and the Puranas. Kalidasa's idea of the churning of the ocean seems to be based both on the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*. It is because the two authentic Puranas, the *Visnu* and the *Vayu*, do not mention the 'Kaustubha' gem amongst those things which came out of the ocean.¹²⁵ But, Kalidasa mentions it as a gem¹²⁶ in the same way as the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* do.

VAMANA INCARNATION OF VISNU

Kalidasa refers to Vamana, the incarnation of Visnu, who deprived Bali of his riches.¹²⁷ This story has been narrated several times in different texts. In the *Rgveda*, there is a fragmentary account of this episode.¹²⁸ According to it, Vamana's first two strides were visible while the third was beyond the flight of birds and led to the abode of gods.¹²⁹

In the *Nrsimha Purva Tapini Upanisad* too, there is a brief account of this episode.¹³⁰ It maintains that Vamana, in his three strides, encompassed the whole universe.¹³¹ The *Ramayana* also says that, once Visnu, assuming the form of Vamana, went to Bali and begged him of three steps of ground.¹³² Bali acceded to his request. Thus, Vamana measured the heaven and the earth in his two steps. Bali, thus, was helpless to fulfil his promise. So Vamana punished him for falling back upon his word and handed over all his assets to India.¹³³

The *Mahabharata* also has a similar account. According to it, once Visnu, assuming the form of Vamana and thus posing himself to be a child, visited Bali's sacrificial hall.¹³⁴ Bali saw

him and became very much pleased. He promised to give him whatever he wanted.¹³⁵ Vamana, with a smile, begged of him only three steps of ground.¹³⁶ Bali granted it to him.¹³⁷ Vamana measured the whole of the earth and gave it to Indra¹³⁸.

However, the *Matsya Purana*¹³⁹ and the *Bhagavata Purana* give a¹⁴⁰ detailed account of this episode. The accounts of both the Puranas are quite the same. According to these Puranas, the main features of this episode are as follows :

Once, Vamana went to Bali's sacrificial hall. Bali gave warm reception to him. He asked Vamana to gratify him by accepting anything of his own choice. After repeated requests, Vamana asked him only for three steps of ground. Sukracarya, the sacrificial priest of Bali, dissuaded Bali from granting him what he asked, for he knew that Vamana was no anyone else but Visnu himself and had come to cheat Bali.¹⁴¹ But, Bali did not listen to him and granted Vamana what he asked.¹⁴² Then, Vamana, assuming the *Visvarupa* form, measured the heaven in one step and the earth in the other. He still, however, had one step to measure but there was no ground left. Thus, making Bali helpless to keep his word, Vamana compelled him to go down to the hell.¹⁴³

These are, then, the various accounts of this episode as we find in different ancient texts. So far as Kalidasa is concerned, it may be said that he must have been acquainted with the *Mahabharata* with regard to this episode. As a matter of fact, the word *Vikrama*¹⁴⁴ used by Kalidasa in this context, is originally used in the *Mahabharata*.¹⁴⁵

CURSE OF NALAKUBARA TO RAVANA

Kalidasa has referred to this episode in his *Raghuvamsa*.¹⁴⁶ The story is found in the *Ramayana* thus :

Once, in the course of his military expedition, Ravana camped on the peaks of the mountain Kailasa.¹⁴⁷ The natural beauty of the Kailasa aroused sexual desires in him.¹⁴⁸ It was at this time that Rambha, decorating herself in heavenly garments, flowers and

pastes, appeared there.¹⁴⁹ While she was going along the way of his camp, he marked her beauty.¹⁵⁰ He caught hold of her and wanted to know about her destination.¹⁵¹ He also expressed his ardent desire for sexual congress and requested her kindly to accept his proposal.¹⁵² She declined to offer her body to him and said that since she was the wife of his son, Nalakubara, she was unfit for his sexual congress.¹⁵³ When Ravana expressed his misgivings regarding her statement, she disclosed that Kubera's son, Nalakubara, had asked her for sexual contact and that she had decorated herself for that purpose only.¹⁵⁴ Ravana again argued that since she was an Apsara, she was not bound to act as the wife of a particular person, and it was not necessary for her to lead a chaste life.¹⁵⁵ Saying so, Ravana put her on a stone and raped her.¹⁵⁶ And then she was left free. With her disturbed locks of hair, faded heavenly flowers and ruffled garments, she rushed to Nalakubara's place.¹⁵⁷ When she reached there, she fell down on Nalakubara's feet, and informed him of the whole incident how she was raped by Ravana.¹⁵⁸ Through meditation, Nalakubara got her whole statement verified.¹⁵⁹ He was very much enflamed at Ravana's conduct. He, therefore, cursed Ravana that in future whenever he would try to have physical contact with any woman without her consent, his head would break into seven pieces.¹⁶⁰

Thus, it appears that Kalidasa must have taken this idea of Nalakubara's curse from the *Ramayana* as Puranic literature is quite silent on this episode.

JAHNAVI : THE DAUGHTER OF JAHNU

Kalidasa has used the epithet 'Jahnu-tanaya' for the Ganga.¹⁶¹ It indicates that the Ganga has its source in Jahnu. This episode is put in the *Ramayana* as follows :

When Bhagiratha was taking the Ganga to purify his ancestors, she flooded Jahnu's sacrificial hall.¹⁶² Being highly enraged, Jahnu drank the whole water of the Ganga.¹⁶³ The gods, Gandharvas and *Rsis*, who were surprised at this occurrence, propitiated Jahnu and asked him to give her an outlet and kindly accept her

as his own daughter.¹⁶⁴ Jahnu was pleased to give her an outlet through his ears.¹⁶⁵ It is why the Ganga is called '*Jahnu tanaya*'.

The Puranic literature also has an account of this episode.¹⁶⁶ According to the *Visnu Purana*, Jahnu, seeing his sacrificial hall flooded by the Ganga, became highly angry.¹⁶⁷ In great anger, confining *Bhagavana Yajnapurusa* in himself through Yogic power, he drank the whole water of the Ganga.¹⁶⁸ Then, gods and *rsis* propitiated him and appeased him. He, ultimately, accepted the Ganga as his own daughter and gave her an outlet through his ears.¹⁶⁹

However, Kalidasa's conception of *Jahnu-tanaya* seems to be based on the *Ramayana* as we see it presents a better and original account of this episode.

(X) PRTHU AND THE MILKING OF THE EARTH

Kalidasa refers to this episode in his *Kumarasambhava*.¹⁷⁰ According to it Prthu ordered mountains to milk the earth. This idea of milking the cow-earth is very old. In the *Atharva Veda*, Prthu is said to be the first man, who milked from the earth, the art of agriculture and food grains etc.¹⁷¹ The *Satapatha Brahmana* speaks of him as the first man to have been installed as the king.¹⁷² He is said to have established the main divisions of human society, to have dug the first well and to have invented agriculture.¹⁷³

In the *Mahabharata* this story runs thus :

In Prthu's *Rajasuya Yajna*, *Maharsis* installed him as an emperor.¹⁷⁴ Under his rule, the earth yielded sufficient crops, cows gave abundant milk and trees gave sweet fruits. Also, under his rule, subjects were fully contented.¹⁷⁵ Once, *Vanaspatis*, mountains, gods, demons, men, uragas, seven great *rsis*, yakosas, gandharvas, apsaras and pitrs, all paid a visit to Prthu's court and honoured him by addressing him as 'Samrat'.¹⁷⁶ Then asked him for a few boons.¹⁷⁷ He granted their request. He took his bow 'Ajagava' and the arrow and asked the earth to yield desired things to them.¹⁷⁸ The earth put a proposal before him that he should accept her as his own daughter. He agreed to her proposal.¹⁷⁹ Then they milked the things of their own choice from the earth.¹⁸⁰ On their

turn, mountains also milked her, making the Udaya the calf and the Meru the milk-man.¹⁸¹ In this way, having milked the earth they obtained several gems and *osauhis* of their own use.¹⁸²

The Puranas also throw some light on this episode.¹⁸³ The *Visnu Purana* has a vivid account.¹⁸⁴ But, in this respect, this Purana seems to follow the *Mahabharata*. A few verses of this Purana are quite identical with those of the *Mahabharata*.¹⁸⁵

Thus, it may be established that Kalidasa has taken the idea of the 'Prthu episode' from the *Mahabharata*.

INDRA AND VRTRA

Kalidasa styles Indra as one who kills Vrtra.¹⁸⁶ This episode is referred to in the *Vedas*.¹⁸⁷ The *Ramayana* also throws some light on it. According to it, the story runs thus :

Vrtra was a virtuous king.¹⁸⁸ He ruled over his subjects in the right way.¹⁸⁹ In his kingdom the earth yielded everything of public interest : sweet fruits, flowers and roots.¹⁹⁰ He, once, made up his mind to practise penance.¹⁹¹ He handed over his kingdom to his eldest son and started severe penance which terrified even gods.¹⁹² Particularly, Indra was highly perturbed with his penance. So, he went to Visnu and told him that Vrtra had fascinated the whole world with his penance and was invincible by him.¹⁹³ Indra requested Visnu to kill Vrtra with his own hands. Visnu declined to do so as Vrtra was a virtuous king and had previously been intimate to him.¹⁹⁴ But, Visnu conceived a device and told Indra that he would divide himself into three parts.¹⁹⁵ One of which would go to Vasava, the second to his Thunderbolt and the third to the earth. It was only then, he said, that Vrtra would be killed.¹⁹⁶ This device was approved of by all the gods.¹⁹⁷ They then thanked Visnu and reached the forest where Vrtra was practising penance.¹⁹⁸ They observed that he was fully absorbed in meditation. In view of his great penance and spiritual power, the gods were terrified.¹⁹⁹ In the mean time, Indra hurled his Thunderbolt on Vrtra and his head fell down to the earth.²⁰⁰

In the *Mahabharata*, this story is found in detail. It has two

versions of this story.²⁰¹ One version is quite parallel to that of the *Ramayana*. It runs as follows :

Once, in the Krtayuga, Kalakeyas, headed by Vrtra, teased gods extremely.²⁰² Gods, headed by Indra, approached Brahma to find out a device for killing Vrtra.²⁰³ Brahma realized their difficulties and suggested to them to go to Dadhici and ask him his back-bone.²⁰⁴ Dadhici gladly offered it for their welfare.²⁰⁵ They made the Thunderbolt out of it with the help of Tvastr.²⁰⁶ Then, Indra, taking other gods with him and the Thunderbolt in his hand, arrived at Vrtra's place.²⁰⁷ A dreadful war broke between gods and demons.²⁰⁸ In this war, gods were defeated. In his great frustration, Indra, along with other gods, took Narayana's shelter.²⁰⁹ Narayana poured his valour on him²¹⁰ and he along with other gods returned to Vrtra.²¹¹ Thus, Indra and Vrtra were face to face again. Indra hurled his Thunderbolt on Vrtra with the consequence that the latter fell down on the earth and died.²¹²

The other version of the story runs thus :

In the hoary past, Indra, accompanied by celestial forces, proceeded in his chariot. On the way, he saw the Asura, Vrtra, stationed before him like a mountain.²¹³ Seeing him²¹⁴, Indra was terrified and was struck by palsy in his lower extremities.²¹⁵ Then a fierce battle took place between Indra and Vrtra.²¹⁶ Vrtra employed his *maya* and stupified Indra.²¹⁷ As a result of this, Indra became senseless. Vasistha restored him to senses, consoled him and encouraged him by reminding him of his valour.²¹⁸ Vasistha again asked him not to display cowardice.²¹⁹ Then Indra, by means of his yogic powers, dispelled Vrtra's *maya*.²²⁰ Meanwhile, Brhaspati, along with other sages, came to Mahesvara.²²¹ All of them asked Mahesvara to destroy Vrtra. Mahesvara acceded to their request and made his energy enter into Vrtra in the form of fever.²²² Visnu himself entered the Thunder-bolt of Indra.²²³ Suddenly, all demons were afflicted by the loss of memory and their powers of *maya* also disappeared.²²⁴ Vrtra also was affected from the fever, his organs were enflamed and were shivering.²²⁵ Ill-omens were visible before him.²²⁶ Meanwhile, Indra, riding on a chariot, cast a harsh look at him.²²⁷ Vrtra yawned and uttered superhuman

words. He was highly affected from the fever.²²⁸ While Vrtra was yawning, Indra hurled his Thunder-bolt at him and the latter fell down on the ground.²²⁹

Thus, in view of these details, it seems likely that Kalidasa has taken this story from the *Mahabharata*.

MAHAVARAH INCARNATION OF VISNU

Kalidasa has referred to this episode in both of his poems —*Raghuvamsa*²³⁰ and *Kumarasambhava*.²³¹ In this episode it is said that Visnu, assuming the form of a boar, lifted the earth from the waters of annihilation.²³² The episode is found in different ancient texts thus :

In the *Taittiriya Samhita*,²³³ Prajapati is said to have assumed the form of a boar with a view to raising the earth from the waters of annihilation. In the *Taittiriya Brahmana*,²³⁴ the Lord of creation is said to have practised severe penance to find out the secrets of the universe. He saw a lotus leaf and thought that the lotus must be resting on something. Assuming the form of a boar, he dived into the water and found the earth there. Breaking a fragment of it, he rose to the surface and spread it on the lotus leaf. As he spread it, it became that which is spread; hence this earth is called ‘*Bhumi*’. The *Taittiriya Aranyaka* also has a similar account.²³⁵ According to it, a black boar raised this earth from the waters.²³⁶ The *Satapatha Brahmana* also recounts how this earth was raised by a boar.²³⁷

According to the *Mahabharata* in the *Krtayuga*, when Adideva assumed the office of Yama,²³⁸ the whole creation remained undisturbed.²³⁹ Due to the burden of the people, the earth sank hundred yojanas into the water.²⁴⁰ It made the earth highly annoyed. So, she resorted to Narayana as her shelter.²⁴¹ She complained against her burden and asked him to reduce it and give her relief.²⁴² With a view to giving relief to her, Narayana incarnated himself as a boar, and lifted her up with his single tusk.²⁴³ It created great noise that made gods and Rsis terrified.²⁴⁴ They went to Brahma and inquired about that noise. Brahma explained to them how the earth was lifted by Narayana by

assuming the form of a boar.²⁴⁵ Then they expressed their ardent desire to see Narayana in that very form.²⁴⁶ Brahma suggested to them to see him at the *Nandana*. They hurried to the *Nandana* and reaching there saw him sitting in the form of a boar with *Srivatsa* on his heart. Having seen him in that form, gods returned to their respective places.²⁴⁷

Besides, the Puranic literature also has a detailed account of this episode.²⁴⁸ In this context, *Visnu Purana* has a verse which is quite identical to that of Kalidasa.²⁴⁹ In this Purana, the account of the episode is brief. Kalidasa seems to have followed the *Mahabharata* for this episode. It is likely that he had also seen the text of the *Visnu Purana*, but the *Mahabharata* must have helped him to a great extent in shaping his idea of this episode.

SATI BORN AS UMA

Kalidasa says that Sati, the wife of Siva and the daughter of Daksa, cast off her life through Yoga when insulted in her father's sacrifice. He maintains that she was born, later on, as the daughter of Himalaya.²⁵⁰

This episode is referred to several times in different texts. The *Mahabharata* mentions only Daksa's sacrifice.²⁵¹ But, never does it mention Sati's casting off her life through Yoga.²⁵²

The Puranic literature also has an account of it. According to it, Sati, the wife of Siva, cast off her life through Yoga when insulted in her father's sacrifice.²⁵³ In the *Vayu Purana* this story runs as follows :

Sati, the daughter of Daksa, was married to Siva or Bhava. Once Daksa performed a sacrifice. He did not invite Siva and Sati. When Sati came to know of it, she expressed her desire to attend the sacrifice. As Siva himself was not invited to the sacrifice, he sent Sati alone to her father's house. She reached her father's house, she was not welcomed. On account of this insult, she felt annoyed. In great anger, she cast off her body through Yoga. Later on, she was born again as Uma.²⁵⁴

The *Bhagavata*²⁵⁵ and the *Matsya Purana*²⁵⁶ also give the same account. Kalidasa seems to be influenced by the text of the *Vayu Purana*. As we have discussed above, the text of the *Vayu Purana* is more systematic in comparison to other texts. In regard to this episode, the idea of Kalidasa is quite the same as that of the *Vayu Purana*.

YAYATI AND SARMISTHA

According to the text of Kalidasa, Sarmistha was deeply loved by Yayati,²⁵⁷ and was more honoured in comparison to any one of his queens.²⁵⁸ She gave birth to Puru who, later on, was installed as a *Samrat*.²⁵⁹ This Yayati and Sarmistha episode is referred to in different ancient texts. According to the *Ramayana* the story runs as follows :

Yayati, the son of Nahusa, had two wives, Sarmistha and Devayani.²⁶⁰ He loved Sarmistha more than Devayani.²⁶¹ Sarmistha had a son named Puru. Devayani also had a son named Yadu.²⁶² Puru attracted greater love for himself due to the favour given to his mother.²⁶³ Yadu was highly annoyed to see the favour done to Puru. So he asked his mother to enter into the fire with him. He said that he was not ready to bear the insult done to him.²⁶⁴ As a result of it, Devayani was extremely aggrieved. In great anger, she remembered her father, Sukracarya, who immediately presented himself before her and asked why she was so worried.²⁶⁵ She told him how her husband misbehaved her. Being enraged, Sukracarya cursed Yayati to grow old and suffer the pangs of his misconduct.²⁶⁶

The *Mahabharata* also has an account of this episode.²⁶⁷ In it, this story is narrated thus:

Once, Devayani, the daughter of Sukracarya, and Sarmistha, the daughter of Vrsaparva, went to take their baths. It so happened that their clothes were mutually exchanged. They came out of water. Sarmistha, thus, mistakenly put on the clothes of Devayani. On this, Devayani²⁶⁸ raised an objection which ultimately took the shape of quarrel.²⁶⁹ In this quarrel, Sarmistha overpowered

Devayani and threw her into a well and returned to her palace.²⁷⁰ Meanwhile Yayati, while hunting, reached there and lifted her from the well.²⁷¹ Devayani expressed her desire to be taken to her father's place. But Yayati declined to do so.²⁷² She, however, so managed as to return to her father's place. Sukracarya was anxiously waiting for her. She told him how she was thrown into the well and how king Yayati moved to rescue her.²⁷³ On this issue, Sukracarya made up his mind to leave the court of Vrsaparva. When Vrsaparva came to know of this, he apologized to Sukracarya and promised to do all that he wanted.²⁷⁴ Sukracarya asked him to appease his daughter Devayani.²⁷⁵ Devayani was highly enraged on account of the offence committed by Sarmistha. When she was asked by Vrsaparva repeatedly, she agreed to stay there only on the condition that Sarmistha would accompany her to her husband's house as a maid-servant.²⁷⁶ Later on, Sarmistha was called there and was told the conditions as put by Devayani. As an obedient and worthy daughter, she accepted the condition laid down by Devayani. Consequently, Devayani stayed there with her father.²⁷⁷

The *Mahabharata* further adds that, once, Yayati, in the course of his hunting, reached the place where Sukracarya lived. Devayani recognized him and offered herself to him.²⁷⁸ When Sukracarya came to know that his daughter was in love with king Yayati, he willingly gave her to him in marriage.²⁷⁹ According to the conditions laid down previously, Sarmistha followed Devayani with 2,000 maid-servants. At that time Sukracarya warned Yayati not to share Sarmistha's bed and told him that the violation of that condition would certainly bring bad fruits to him.²⁸⁰ Having married the daughter of Sukracarya, Yayati returned to his capital,²⁸¹ and enjoyed a conjugal life. When one thousand years passed, Sarmistha also became mature.²⁸² One day, she asked Yayati to share her bed.²⁸³ At first, Yayati hesitated, since he remembered the words of Sukracarya.²⁸⁴ But, when Sarmistha insisted on her point, he co-habited with her.²⁸⁵ As a result of this co-habitation, Sarmistha became pregnant and, later on, she gave birth to a male child.²⁸⁶ Devayani also came to know of the

birth of the child. She visited Sarmistha, who assured her that the child was born as a result of a Rsi's blessings.²⁸⁷ Devayani believed her words and returned to her palace.²⁸⁸ In course of time, Sarmistha gave birth to two children.²⁸⁹ Once, Devayani went for a walk with her husband Yayati. There she saw that Sarmistha's three children were playing.²⁹⁰ Somehow or the other, she gathered that those children were born of her husband Yayati.²⁹¹ Then Devayani became highly aggrieved. In great resentment, she hurried to her father's place. Yayati also followed her.²⁹² Devayani conveyed the whole message to her father.²⁹³ Sukracarya, having heard Yayati's misconduct became angry and cursed him to grow old.²⁹⁴ When Yayati apologized again and again, Sukracarya made an option to that curse and added that he could exchange his old age with his sons.²⁹⁵

Besides, the *Puranas* also throw sufficient light on this episode. According to the *Bhagavata Purana* this story runs thus :

Once, Yayati, in the course of his hunting expedition, reached a well where he heard the cry of a girl. He went to the well and saw a girl inside it, standing naked and quite helpless. He offered his upper cloth to her and asked her to put it on. He, later on, lifted her up by catching hold of her hands. He gathered from the girl that she was Devayani, Sukracarya's daughter. She then persuaded him to accept her hand which he ultimately did after seeking Sukracarya's consent. At the time of Devayani's departure, Sukracarya asked Yayati not to share the bed of Sarmistha who was accompanying Devayani. Yayati accepted his proposal and returned to his capital. After some time, Yayati forgot the words given to Sukracarya and yielded to the entreaties of Sarmistha. On this issue, Devayani moved to her father's house. Yayati also followed her. He was cursed by Sukracarya that he would grow old on account of his misbehaviour with Devayani. Yayati begged his pardon. So, Sukracarya made an option to his curse that he could exchange his old age with his sons.²⁹⁶

Besides, the *Brahmanda*,²⁹⁷ the *Matsya*²⁹⁸ and *Vayu*²⁹⁹ also mention this episode. But the account of these *Puranas*, is not quite

sufficient. In comparison to the account of any of these Puranas, the account of the *Mahabharata*, is more vivid and elaborate. Kalidasa seems to be influenced by the *Mahabharata* in depicting this episode in his work.

NRSIMHA INCARNATION OF VISNU

Kalidasa has referred to this story in his *Abhijnana Sakuntalam*.³⁰⁰ According to it, once, Visnu assuming the form of Nrsimha killed the demon Hiranya Kasipu.³⁰¹

This episode occurs in different ancient texts. According to the *Mahabharata*, once, Visnu assuming the form of Nrsimha³⁰² reached Hiranya Kasipu's court.³⁰³ As soon as he saw him Hiranya Kasipu attacked on him with his sula.³⁰⁴ Then, Nrsimha, who had much might and whose nails were very sharp, killed him with his nails.³⁰⁵ The Puranic literature also has a detailed account of this episode.³⁰⁶ According to the *Bhagavata Purana*, this story runs as follows :

Once, Hiranya Kasipu began to practise austere penance on the Mandara hills. The heat of his penance spread far and wide. It created great terror amongst gods. One day, Brahma visited the hill and saw him covered with ant-hills. Sprinkling divine waters on him, Brahma awakened him. Hiranya Kasipu saw Brahma sitting on the back of Swan. He praised his glories and begged him of some boons.³⁰⁷ He requested him to grant that he might not meet his death at the hands of any living being created by Him; that he might not die inside or outside of his house, neither in the day nor in the night; that he might not be killed by any weapon or by any man, beast, god or demon or any other worldly being; that he might remain unparalleled; and that he might have undiminishing power and might become the ruler of the entire universe.³⁰⁸ These boons were granted to him.

The *Visnu Purana* also gives an account of this episode.³⁰⁹ According to it, the boons, as mentioned above, were granted by Brahma. By virtue of these boons, Hiranya Kasipu spread terror all over the world and captured the seat of Indra. He teased his

son Prahlada, a staunch devotee of Hari.³¹⁰ When he committed a number of sins, Hari, assuming the form of Nrsimha, killed him with his nails.³¹¹

From what we have discussed above about this episode, it appears that the account of the *Mahabharata* influenced Kalidasa in his idea of Nrsimha episode. The account of the *Mahabharata* is quite vivid and elaborate in comparison to that of the Puranas.

TRISANKU EPISODE

Kalidasa refers to this episode in his drama *Abhijnana Sakuntalam*.³¹² According to it, Trisanku remained suspended in the sky after being thrown down towards the earth by gods. He is said to have been stopped in the mid-region by Visvamitra.³¹³ This story runs in the *Ramayana* thus :

Once, Trisanku, a king of the Iksvaku dynasty, decided to perform the sacrifice which might enable him to go to the heaven with his body.³¹⁴ He consulted his teacher Vasistha in this regard. But, Vasistha expressed his inability in the matter. Then, he went to the south³¹⁵ to consult the sons of Vasistha.³¹⁶ They also refused to oblige him.³¹⁷ Even though disappointed by both of them, he stuck to his decision and decided to search out a priest himself.³¹⁸ When the sons of Vasistha came to know of his final decision, they felt insulted and cursed him to become a Candala.³¹⁹ Wandering hither and thither in search of a priest, Trisanku reached the hermitage of Visvamitra. He felt pity on him.³²⁰ He consoled Trisanku and assured him to send him to the heaven with his body.³²¹ Visvamitra sought the help of certain other rsis and Vedic scholars in the performance of such a sacrifice.³²² In this sacrifice, Visvamitra acted as the main *Yajaka* and other rsis acted as *Rtvijas*.³²³ Every function regarding the sacrifice was performed according to the Vedic rules.³²⁴ Visvamitra invited gods to the sacrifice for accepting their shares. But they declined to accept it.³²⁵ As a result of this attitude of gods, Visvamitra also stuck to his point and sent Trisanku to the heaven by virtue of his spiritual power.³²⁶ But, that act of Visvamitra was not

appreciated by gods, who threw him down to the earth.³²⁷ While falling from the heaven, Trisanku cried aloud. Having heard his cry, Visvamitra stopped him in the space.³²⁸ Thus, Trisanku remained suspended in the sky. In great anger Visvamitra started creating another universe. By this action of Visvamitra, gods and demons were extremely annoyed. They came to Visvamitra and told him that since Trisanku was cursed by Vasistha's sons, he was not fit to live in the heaven and consequently was thrown to the earth.³²⁹ Visvamitra told them that, as a matter of fact, he had promised him to do so and he had to keep his word.³³⁰ Visvamitra maintained that Trisanku would remain in the heaven with other planets of his own creation as long as the universe would exist.³³¹ Gods approved of his proposal and granted that Trisanku would remain in the sky, as he desired, in the form of a planet, and that the stars would revolve around him.³³²

In the *Mahabharata* the account of this story is very brief³³³ and it seems to be based on the *Ramayana*. The Puranic literature is also not silent on this point. It throws sufficient light on this episode.³³⁴ Salient features of this episode, as described in the Puranas, are as follows:

As a result of the curse of Vasistha, Trisanku became a *Candala*. Visvamitra felt pity on him. He consoled him and instructed him to perform the sacrifice as desired. Visvamitra crowned him, after he had taken the purificatory bath, in the river Karmanasa. This enabled him to go to the heaven along with his body and get a place among other planets. But, when Trisanku reached the heaven, he was again thrown head-long down towards the earth. While coming down to the earth, he was stopped in the sky by Visvamitra. In this way, he remained suspended there.³³⁵

From the above account it is evident that this episode is described elaborately in the *Ramayana*. Besides, the account of the *Ramayana* seems to be more authentic and original than any other account. Most probably, Kalidasa has taken the idea of this episode from the *Ramayana*.

URVASI BORN OF NARAYANA'S THIGH

In this connection, Kalidasa mentions Urvasi as born of the thigh of Narayana.³³⁶ This episode is found in the Puranic literature only.³³⁷ According to the *Visnudharmottara Purana*, the episode runs thus :

Two great *Rsis*, Nara and Narayana were practising penance in the 'Badarikasrama'. Once, ten apsaras, with a view to disturbing their penance, decorating themselves with different heavenly ornaments, entered into their penance grove. Narayana understood their motive and made a beautiful apsara with the juice of 'Sahakara' from his thigh. Seeing her beauty, other apsaras, who came to entice him, felt extremely ashamed. In great disappointment, they returned to the court of Indra. They conveyed to Indra the whole story how sage Narayana had created an apsara from his own thigh. Having heard this news, Indra was highly surprized. Being highly curious to see her he visited the hermitage of Narayana and fell down on his feet. Narayana was pleased. He handed over Urvasi to him. Indra took her to his abode and appointed Tumburu to teach her the art of music.³³⁸

It may be noted that neither the *Ramayana* nor the *Mahabharata* has any account of this episode. So, it is clear that Kalidasa has taken this idea from the Puranic literature. It is the *Visnudharmottara Purana* alone which has a detailed account of this episode. No other Purana has such an account. It may, thus, be established that Kalidasa has taken the idea of this episode from the *Visnudharmottara Purana*.

INDRA AND AHALYA

Kalidasa refers to this story, in his trotaka *Vikramorvasiyam*.³³⁹ He says that Indra wanted to share the bed of Ahalya and he sought the help of *Candra* in this Connection. But, Candrama could not rise to the occasion and Indra was caught red-handed.³⁴⁰ This episode is frequently referred to in the ancient literature.³⁴¹ In the *Ramayana*, it is found in a detailed form. According to the *Ramayana*, it runs as follows :

Once, in the absence of Gautama, Indra attended Ahalya in the guise of Gautama, her husband. He expressed his liking for her and asked her to share his bed. Ahalya recognized him in that form but did not refuse his proposal. She shared his bed and enjoyed his company.³⁴² When she was satisfied, she asked Indra to take leave of her before the arrival of her husband, Gautama.³⁴³ Indra himself was in hurry. But, as soon as he came out of the door, Gautama arrived.³⁴⁴ Gautama saw Indra and guessed his misconduct.³⁴⁵ He cursed Indra of impotence for fault of seducing his wife.³⁴⁶ Having cursed him³⁴⁷, Gautama moved to his cottage and saw his wife. He cursed her too that she would remain in the same hermitage for thousand years, living on air, having no food and facing severe miseries. He also laid down that she would be invisible to the eyes of the world. In the end, however, he informed her that, when Rama would reach her hermitage, she would touch his feet and be free from the curse.³⁴⁸

Thus, the account of the *Ramayana* seems quite vivid and original. Such an account is not tracable in any other ancient work. It is, therefore, safe to infer that Kalidasa might have taken the idea of this episode from the *Ramayana*.

AURVA EPISODE

Kalidasa refers to Aurva as the power which consumes the waters of the ocean.³⁴⁹ The story of Aurva is also referred to in the ancient literature. Particularly the *Mahabharata*³⁵⁰ and the *Puranas*³⁵¹ throw sufficient light on this episode. The *Mahabharata* has the following account :

King Krtavirya, the Yajamana of Bhrgus, performed a Soma-sacrifice and gave all his wealth to Bhrgus and other Brahmanas.³⁵² After he ascended the heaven, his descendants became poor.³⁵³ They, however, came to know that Bhrgus owned much wealth given to them by their ancestors. They approached them and demanded some amount of the wealth.³⁵⁴ But, some of them buried their wealth under the earth, some gave it to Brahmanas

and some to Ksatriyas.³⁵⁵ Ksatriyas began to dig the houses of Bhargavas. In the course of digging, they found the treasure in the house of a Bhargava,³⁵⁶ and they became highly enraged. They began to kill Bhargavas. Even the embryos of women were not spared.³⁵⁷ Then, the wives of the Bhargavas, afraid of the tyranny of Ksatriyas, fled to the Himavana.³⁵⁸ Among the women, who fled to the Himavana, one was pregnant. Her embryo, tearing open the thigh of his mother, came out and dazzled the eyes of the Ksatriyas. As a result of it, the Ksatriyas lost their eye-sights.³⁵⁹ That embryo was none but 'Aurva' himself. Later on the Ksatriyas pleased him and gave him the word that they would not kill Bhargavas in future. Aurva, when pleased, set them free and blessed them with the restoration of their eye-sights.³⁶⁰ That child was named 'Aurva' on account of the fact that he had come out after tearing open the thigh—*Uru* of his mother.³⁶¹ After this event, Aurva made up his mind to annihilate the whole world,³⁶² but he was pacified by the pitrs. Consequently, he threw his anger into the waters of the ocean.³⁶³ The anger assumed the form of a 'horse head' emitting fire from its mouth and consuming the water of the ocean.³⁶⁴ Thus, this episode is found in a detailed form in the *Mahabharata*. Besides, the *Harivamsa Purana* also gives an elaborate account of this story.³⁶⁵

The account of the *Mahabharata* seems to be original and authentic in every respect. Probably, Kalidasa has taken the idea of the 'Aurva episode' from the *Mahabharata*, as we see that the account of Kalidasa tallies with that of the *Mahabharata*.

CHAPTER V

RELIGION

GOD

Kalidasa was very liberal in his religious views. He had regard for different faiths prevalent in his age. Some think that he was a staunch Saivaite, but, in his works, Brahma, Visnu and Siva have been given equal status.¹ In his opinion, there is no difference between Brahma, Visnu and Siva, because they have sprung from one and the same supreme entity.² He eulogizes Siva in the benedictory stanzas of his works no doubt,³ but, at the same time, propitiates Brahma,⁴ and Visnu⁵ in his panegyrics. Besides, he does not seem to be partial to any particular sect nor his ideas are attached to any particular god. Different Vedic, as well as Puranic, gods have found proper place in his works. For instance, Indra,⁶ Agni,⁷ Varuna,⁸ Surya,⁹ Yama,¹⁰ Tvastra,¹¹ Rudra¹² and Visnu¹³ are such deities who are Vedic in their nomenclature, but Puranic in their character. A few of them, who attained secondary positions and changed their inherent character in the age of Kalidasa, are discussed below :

Indra

Indra was a celebrated god in the Vedic times. In the *Rgveda*, several hymns have been devoted to him.¹⁴ He receded to a secondary position in the Puranic literature and was considered to be malicious and envious of righteous and religious men, particularly those who intended to perform hundred horse-sacrifices.¹⁵ In his works, Kalidasa draws the same specific picture of the character of Indra.¹⁶ In *Raghuvamsa*, we have a reference to the story how Indra concealed the sacrificial horse of king Dilipa who was determined to complete his 100th horse sacrifice.¹⁷ Another reference, in this context, is to king Sagara, whose sacrificial horse was stolen by Indra himself and was kept in the Patala.¹⁸ Thus Indra in the Puranic literature had lost his Vedic sublimity and was reduced to the status of a worldly being given to jealousy and lust for power.

Rudra

Rudra is a Vedic deity.¹⁹ Kalidasa seems to identify him with his favourite deity Siva.²⁰

Surya

Surya also is a Vedic deity.²¹ Kalidasa has used different names for him, such as Savita, Ravi, Saptasapti etc.²² This is what we find in Kalidasa about Surya.

Varuna

In the Vedic literature, Varuna is called the regulator of water.²³ Kalidasa also refers to him in the same specific sense—in the form of a water-deity.²⁴

Yama

Yama is a Vedic deity.²⁵ He retained his Vedic character up to the date of Kalidasa. He is mentioned fifty times in the *Rgveda*.²⁶ He has been considered to be the chastizer of the wicked. Kalidasa also describes him in the same manner.²⁷ Kalidasa refers to his weapon 'Kutasalmali' also by means of which he controls wicked persons.²⁸

Prajapati

Prajapati is referred to in the Vedic literature at several places.²⁹ He is styled as the lord of all living beings and controller of the universe. The *Satapatha Brahmana* recognizes him as the father of gods,³⁰ and as one who existed alone in the beginning of the world.³¹ Kalidasa seems to identify Prajapati with Brahma who occupies a notable position in the trinity of gods.³² Probably this idea of Kalidasa is based on the *Asvalayana Grhya Sutra*, in which both the gods, Prajapati and Brahma, are described as identical.³³

Visnu

Visnu of the Puranic pantheon, is quite different from the Vedic deity. Kalidasa depicts him in his Puranic character.³⁴ Visnu is considered to be the second deity in the Hindu triad of gods. Kalidasa draws the following picture of Visnu :

Visnu creates maintains and dissolves the world.³⁵ He is beyond all measurements, but he measures the whole world. He is beyond all wishes, but he fulfils the wishes of the world. He himself is invincible, but he has won the whole world. He himself is *Aryakta*, but the whole world has emanated from him.³⁶ He is eternal and immortal.³⁷ He is not known to any one, but he knows every one. The world has sprung from him, but he has no source of his own. He is master of all living beings, but he himself is not controlled by any one. He is only one in his original form but he incarnates himself in different forms.³⁸ Seven panegyrical songs of the *Sama Veda* are said to be the eulogies of his virtues. Seven oceans, seven fires and seven *lokas* are sustained by him.³⁹ Yogins concentrate on him and contemplate on his subtle form for their salvation.⁴⁰ Though he is unborn he incarnates himself for the sake of his devotees.⁴¹ He purifies his devotees who remember him as their Lord.⁴² He has no attachment with the world, but he comes to the world in the need of his devotees. He is said to be the ancient poet, who utters words in their most cultured form.⁴³

Regarding the characteristics of Visnu, the ideas of Kalidasa seem to be based on the *Visnu Purana*.⁴⁴ In this Purana these characteristics of him are delineated at some length. There, Visnu is said to have the virtues of creating, maintaining and dissolving the universe. It also maintains that Visnu is the supreme entity which represents Brahma, Visnu and Siva in its different forms.⁴⁵ Apart from this, Kalidasa presents him as one who incarnates himself in the form of worldly beings in keeping with the requirements of his devotees. In *Raghuvamsa*, gods approach him when troubled by the great demon Ravana. He assures them that he would incarnate himself in the form of Rama and kill the demon with his own hands.⁴⁶ This idea of *Raghuvamsa* tallies with that of the *Gita* wherein Lord Krsna assures Arjuna that he incarnates himself for the sake of his devotees and kills wicked persons.⁴⁷ Thus, regarding the characteristics of Visnu, Kalidasa seems to have been influenced by the *Visnu Purana* on the one hand, and by the *Gita*, on the other.⁴⁸

Brahma

Brahma occupies an important place in the trinity of gods. Kalidasa depicts him in the following manner :

Brahma is considered to be the creator of all mobile and immobile objects of the universe.⁵⁹ He is the originator of the world. He maintains as well as dissolves it.⁶⁰ Three gunas—Satva, Rajas and Tamas, subsist in him.⁶¹ He is the sole cause of the world but he is not caused by any one. He destroys the world, but he himself remains unaffected. He alone existed before the world; none preceded him. He is master of all in the world and none is his master.⁶² He is liquid as well as solid, gross as well as subtle, light as well as heavy and manifested as well as unmanifested.⁶³ He is the main source of the Vedic words which begin with *Omkara*.⁶⁴ He is the Prakrti and Purusa both.⁶⁵ He is the father of fathers and god of gods. He is oblation and the giver of oblation too. He is the eater and the food both. He is the knower and also the object of knowledge. He acts both as the agent and the object of contemplation too.⁶⁶ Thus, Kalidasa eulogizes Brahma in the same way as he does Visnu. This eulogy of Brahma seems to be based on the *Visnu Purana*. In this Purana, Brahma is eulogized in the same way⁶⁷ as by Kalidasa in his works.

Siva

Siva, the favourite deity of Kalidasa, makes the Hindu triad along with Brahma and Visnu. Though not a sectarian, Kalidasa seems to follow Saivism.⁶⁸ Siva also is alluded to as the sole cause of the creation, preservation and destruction of the world in the same way as Brahma and Visnu.⁶⁹ Among the appellations of Siva the following are very significant :

Isa,⁷⁰ Isvara,⁷¹ Mahesvara,⁷² Paramesvara,⁷³ Astamurti,⁷⁴ Vrsadhvaja,⁷⁵ Sulabhrta,⁷⁶ Pasupati,⁷⁷ Tryambaka,⁷⁸ Sthanu,⁷⁹ Nilalohita,⁷⁰ Nilakantha,⁷¹ Visvesvara⁷² and Mahakala.⁷³

It seems that worship of Siva, in different forms, was current in the days of Kalidasa. Idol worship was in vogue. Several temples consecrated to Siva were famous in his time. Mahakala

temple of Ujjayini was well known.⁷⁴ Another one was the Visvanatha temple at Varanasi.⁷⁵ Siva is said to be Astamurti—possessed of eight forms.⁷⁶ His image is said to be made of water.⁷⁷ He is the very image of the universe.⁷⁸ He is called ‘Isvara’ and is endowed with several Siddhis. He bears the crescent on his forehead.⁷⁹ The whole universe is sustained by him.⁸⁰ Yogins contemplate on him.⁸¹ He is the sole witness of the actions of the world.⁸² He is also given the status of Brahman as admitted by Vedanta.⁸³

Apart from this, Siva is also described thus :

Siva besmears ‘Bhasma’ over his body.⁸⁴ The crescent is placed on his forehead.⁸⁵ Snakes beautify his body.⁸⁶ He is attended by his ‘Ganas’.⁸⁷ Brahma and Visnu are placed by his side.⁸⁸ Goddesses⁸⁹—Ganga and Yamuna, attend to him and Nandi also is present in his service.⁹⁰ This picture of Siva is Puranic, no doubt, but there is no less likelihood that Kalidasa has taken these ideas from the popular beliefs prevalent in his days among the common people.

EIGHT MANIFESTATIONS OF SIVA

Siva is considered to have eight manifestations, which are said to be his gross and subtle bodies. Kalidasa mentions it several times.⁹¹ His eight forms—*Murtis* are: water, fire, sun, moon, sacrificer, sky, earth and air.⁹² These forms are enumerated in *Abhijnana Sakuntalam*.⁹³

These forms of Siva are parallel to the eight Vasus of the Vedic literature. These Vasus are enumerated in the *Satapatha Brahmana*⁹⁴ thus :

“*Katame Vasavah iti; Agnisca, Prithvica, Vayusca, Antariksasca, Adityasca, Dyausca, Candramaca, Naksatranica, etc. Vasavah.*”⁹⁵ Here, Prthvi, Agni, Vayu, Dyauh, Surya and Candramas are clearly enumerated, but ‘Naksatrani’ and ‘Antariksam’ do not tally with the list of Kalidasa. Of course, as the *Satapatha Brahmana* itself maintains, ‘Antariksam’ stands for *Apah*.⁹⁶ However ‘Naksatra’ does not tally with the list of Kalidasa,

Again, in the Brahmana literature Agni is said to have eight forms :

“*Tani etani astau Agni-rupani: Rudrah, Sarvah, Pasupatih, Ugrah, Asanih, Bhavah, Mahadevah, Isanah.*”⁹⁷ These forms of Agni correspond with the eight designations of Rudra enumerated in the *Markandeya Purana*.⁹⁸ In fact, the Brahmana literature identifies Rudra with Agni :

“*Yo vai Rudras tadagnih*”.⁹⁹

“*Esa Rudro yadagnih*”.¹⁰⁰

Thus, these forms of *Vasu*, *Agni* or *Rudra*, are included in the eight forms of Siva. This idea is again endorsed by the *Markandeya Purana*.¹⁰¹ It seems that in the pre-puranic literature, these forms were characterised as ‘*Vasus*’ ‘*Agnis*’ or ‘*Rudras*’ but in the Puranic and post-puranic literature they were described as the eight visible forms of Siva.¹⁰² These forms are elaborately discussed in different Puranas.

In the *Markandeya Purana*, there is a detailed account of these forms.¹⁰³ According to it, the eight names of Siva or Rudra are; Bhava, Sarva, Isana, Pasupati, Bhima, Ugra, Mahadeva and Rudra. They represent the sun, the water, the earth, the fire, the sky, the Brahmana initiated in sacrifice, and the moon respectively.¹⁰⁴ The *Visnu Purana* also gives the same description. According to it, Surya, Mahi, Vayu, Vahni, Jala, Akasa, Diksita Brahmana and Soma are eight evolutes of Rudra.¹⁰⁵ In the *Vayu Purana*, ‘*Diksita Brahmana*’ is identified with Atma and the other forms are enumerated in the same way.¹⁰⁶ The *Linga Purana* also identifies Atma with the *Yajamana*.¹⁰⁷

Thus, almost the entire Puranic text declares the identity of these eight forms with Rudra or Siva. Only the ‘*Yajamana*’ is differently designated in different Puranas. However, these eight forms, including *Yajamana* or Diksita Brahmana or Atma, correspond with the eight manifestations of Siva. Now, we have to discuss the secret of these eight forms of Siva and to find out why Siva is associated with them.

From the above account it is evident that the universe has emanated from Siva. His forms, therefore, can be discovered in the fundamental constituents of the universe. In the list of these eight forms, five gross elements i. e. Prthivi, Apa, Teja, Vayu and Akasa are indisputable. Scholars admit them unanimously as '*Panca-mahabhutas*'. The other three elements, the *Yajamana*, the Sun and the Moon have been a matter of great controversy. Different scholars have interpreted them differently. With a view to finding out their real meaning, we have to ponder over the whole matter deeply.

Since the *Yajamana* has a gross body which is the product of the 'five gross elements', he cannot be supposed to be different from them. The same is also the case with the sun and the moon. Since they are said to be the luminaries, they are included in *Agni* or *Tejas*. They have, therefore, no independent existence. They must be symbolical in their connotation. But what do they stand for ? Dr. V.S. Agrawal has tried to prove the *Yajamana* as the symbol of 'Manas'.¹⁰³ But this view cannot be accepted due to the following reasons :

The Puranic literature, in which these forms are discussed in detail, never mentions the *Yajamana* as the representative of Manas. Although some Puranas refer to Atman as the *Yajamana* or '*Diksita Brahmana*',¹⁰⁴ never do they admit Manas as a designation of the *Yajamana* or '*Diksita Brahmana*'. There is a vast difference between Manas and *Atman*. They cannot be identical. One should also bear in mind that the word *Atman* has been interpreted differently. The philosophical branch interprets it as an eternal entity. The Upanisadic literature unanimously admits the supremacy and eternity of *Atman*. Therefore, this sort of *Atman* cannot be identified with the *Yajamana* who has a temporary existence. Another interpretation of *Atman* is that of the *Pauranikas* who admit it as ego. The *Linga Purana* recognizes the *Yalamana* as *Atman*, and thus it seems to identify the latter with ego.¹¹⁰ Since the *Yajamana* is a shortlived organism, he, as such, cannot be identified with that *Atman* which is said to be eternal and

all pervading. Therefore, it would not be out of place to identify the Yajamana with the ego. In fact, ego itself is wholly responsible for all sorts of activities in the organism. Probably, due to this characteristic, in the later period, the ego was characterized as "doer" and, later on as "doer of sacrifice". Thus, it seems that in the long run, ego itself was characterized as the sacrificer or the Yajamana. In this context, the *Linga Purana* comes to our help. It states thus : "Atma tasya astami murtih yajamanahvaya para".¹¹¹ That is, the Atman identified with the Yajamana evidently means the 'ego' and nothing else. So, it is established that Yajamana, as one of the eight manifestations of Siva, signifies 'ego'.

Now, the question arises as to the significations of the sun and the moon. Dr. V.S. Agrawal interprets them as 'Prana' and 'Apana'.¹¹² He, probably, forgets that 'Prana' and 'Apana' are merely breaths, and therefore, are not distinct from the five gross elements. Thus, they cannot be regarded as distinct elements. In this connection, one should not forget that the sun is regarded as the representative of intelligence. In the famous 'Gayatri Mantra' of the *Rgveda* the sun is invoked in order to activate intelligence.¹¹³ The *Surya-sukta* of the *Rgveda* also endorses this idea. According to it, the sun gives light to the whole world and every organism takes enlightenment and consciousness from it.¹¹⁴ Kalidasa also endorses this idea in his *Raghuvamsa*.¹¹⁵ In fact, the sun, in the Vedic period, was regarded as the symbol of intelligence and bestower of genius. Thus, it would not be out of place to identify the sun with intelligence. In this way, the sun, which occurs in the list of eight manifestations of Siva, may be identified with intelligence.

Now let us take the signification of the moon. In this context, the *Purusa-sukta* of the *Rgveda* comes to our help. In this *Sukta*, it is said that the moon sprang from the 'Manas' of the Purusa—*Candrama Manaso jatah*.¹¹⁶ Here the word 'jatah' does not mean that Candramas was produced by the 'Manas' of the Purusa. But it means that Candramas has identity with Manas.¹¹⁷ There is another 'mantra' which affirms this idea :

“Brahmano asya mukham asit,
 Bahu rajanyah krtah.
 Uru tad asya yad vaisyah,
 Padbhyam sudro ajayat.”¹¹⁸

Here, it is evident that the Brahmanas are not produced by the mouth of the ‘Purusa’, but are merely the representatives of the mouth. So the Ksatriyas represent hands, Vaisyas thighs and Sudras feet. In fact, mouth, thigh, hands and feet do not give birth to any organism, it is only the female organ which gives birth to organisms. Here, the words ‘Asit’, ‘Krtah’, ‘Ajayat’ etc., have similar meaning and they indicate only representation and not production.

From the above account it has been established that the statement, ‘*Candrama manaso jatah*’ means that Candramas represented Manas. On this ground, it is established that ‘Manas’ may also be symbolised by ‘Candramas’. Besides, Manas is defined as “*Samkalpatmakamatra Manah*.¹¹⁹ It means that Manas is that state of mind in which there is formation and deformation of ideas. In that state of mind, a particular idea reaches the climax of mental processes and is then reduced to nothingness. The changing position of ideas may easily be identified with the waxing and waning of the moon. The fractions of the moon increase day by day during the brighter nights and decrease day by day during the darker nights. Thus, we see that the processes of ideation are very much analogous to the waxing and waning of the moon. On this ground too, Manas and the moon seem to signify one and the same entity.

Apart from this, ‘Candra-Sekhara’ the popular epithet of Siva, also indicates the same identity of Manas and the moon. The moon is supposed to be seated upon the head of Siva. Manas, being the mental process, has its locus in the brain which is located in the head of an organism. Probably the idea of the moon’s situation on the head of Siva is thought out on the basis of the analogous equality of the states of the moon and the mind. As the body of Siva, is considered to represent the world, the moon on his head may represent Manas. Whatever may be the fact, it is evident that the

moon on the head of Siva, has no other meaning except a symbolical one. Thus, the symbolization of Manas seems to be quite plausible.

In this way, we come to the conclusion that the Yajamana, the sun and the moon have their symbolical meanings, and that they stand for 'ego'—*Ahamkara*, Intelligence—*Buddhi* and mind—*Manas* respectively. Thus, these three subtle elements along with five gross elements, represent the whole visible world. As the world is said to have sprung from Siva, these may be called his manifestations.

Thus, it is established that Manas, Buddhi, Ahamkara, and Prthvi, Apas, Tejas, Vayu and Akasa are eight manifestations of Siva. In the *Bhagavadgita* these manifestations are said to be the forms of Krsna.¹²⁰ It seems that Kalidasa was fully influenced by the philosophical thoughts of the *Bhagavadgita*. Most probably, he utilized the eight forms of Krsna in conceiving of the forms of Siva. But, due to the Puranic influence on him, he symbolizes, Ahamkara, Buddhi and Manas with the Yajamana, the Sun and the Moon. Thus, it is evident that the manifestations of Siva are nothing but five gross elements and three subtle elements—'Manas' 'Buddhi' and 'Ahamkara'. These eight elements are said to be responsible for the creation of the world.

In the *Visnu Purana* these eight elements are said to be the forms of Visnu. According to it, Apas, Tejas, Vayu, Akasa, Antahkarana—Manas, Buddhi and Ahamkara—and sense organs, which are considered to be the main constituents of the universe, are nothing but Purusa—Visnu himself.¹²¹ Since Kalidasa identifies Brahma, Visnu and Siva with the same supreme entity and makes no distinction among them, there is every possibility of his depicting Siva on the pattern of Visnu.

Thus, it is established that in his depiction of the eight manifestations of Siva, Kalidasa has been influenced by the philosophical thoughts of the *Gita*, on the one hand and by the popular ideas of the *Visnu Purana*, on the other.

These are some of the main gods. Kalidasa mentions some other gods of minor importance such as Rama,¹²² Krsna,¹²³

Mahavaraha;¹²⁴ Skanda,¹²⁵ Kubera,¹²⁶ Narayana¹²⁷ and eight Lokapalas.¹²⁸ Besides, several goddesses such as Saci,¹²⁹ Sarasvati,¹³⁰ Laksmi¹³¹ and Parvati¹³² also are mentioned by him. He also refers to two goddesses, Ganga and Yamuna.¹³³ Apart from this, he also mentions Gandharvas,¹³⁴ Yaksas,¹³⁵ Kinnaras,¹³⁶ Vidyadharas¹³⁷ and Siddhas¹³⁸ as demi-gods. Thus it appears that Kalidasa was highly influenced by the legends and popular beliefs prevalent among common people in those days. That is why he gives so much importance to such gods, goddesses and demi-gods.

Monotheism

The belief in the existence of several gods and goddesses indicates the prevalence of polytheism in the age of Kalidasa. But the fact is altogether different. Kalidasa, while eulogizing one of the three deities, Brahma, Visnu or Siva, forgets other gods. He associates all the functions of creating, maintaining and destroying the world with him and pleads that other gods have no existence independent of him.¹³⁹ Thus unity in the diversity of gods, gives rise to monotheism. Kalidasa maintains that Brahma, Visnu and Siva are three different forms of one and the same entity. They are known distinctly by virtue of their distinct functions.¹⁴⁰

POPULAR BELIEFS

Paraloka

Deceased ancestors were supposed to dwell in the ‘Pitrloka’ and eat oblations, offered to them in the form of *Pinda* by their male offsprings.¹⁴¹ It is a popular belief among Hindus that every individual owes three kinds of debts : *Rsi*,¹⁴² *Deva*¹⁴³ and *Pitr*. He pays them by studying the *Vedas*, performing sacrifices and begetting a male child.¹⁴⁴ In the works of Kalidasa *Pitrs* are described as ‘*Pindabhadrah*’¹⁴⁵—eaters of oblations, offered to them in the *Sraddhas*.¹⁴⁶ It seems that these beliefs were deep-rooted in the minds of ancient Hindus. It is for this reason that kings like Dusyanta¹⁴⁷ and Dilipa¹⁴⁸ show their anxiety when reminded of their having no male child. They think very much about their own ‘Paralokas’ and the ‘Paralokas’ of their ancestors.

The conception of 'Paraloka' seems to be the pivot of Hindu religion.¹⁴⁹ 'Svarga' and 'Naraka'¹⁵⁰ were supposed to be attained on account of one's own good or bad deeds. A bath in the sacred river was considered a ladder to svarga.¹⁵¹ A warrior killed in the battle field, was entitled to attain 'svarga'.¹⁵² Thus, the conception of Paraloka—Svarga and Naraka—was a common belief of a Hindu in those days. Kalidasa seems to be influenced by such beliefs current in the society in his age.

Penance

Emancipation was considered to be the *summum bonum* of life. Every Hindu felt relieved by the prospect of getting permanent bliss by releasing his soul from the circle of birth and re-birth. Severe penance was considered to be the main means for attaining salvation. Penance and concentration of mind restrain sense organs from their involvement in their respective objects.¹⁵³ The process of penance is described beautifully in *Raghuvamsha*. Raghu, the father of Aja, after relinquishing the throne in favour of his son, took to the life of a forester and practised severe penance. He abandoned the desire for pleasure, whether worldly or heavenly. He gave up royal dresses and put on bark garments.¹⁵⁴ He achieved control over the functions of his senses. He took to solitude, sat on holy 'Kusa' grass and practised introspection.¹⁵⁵ He gradually controlled his five sense organs and five breaths.¹⁵⁶

There are also references to other sages who practised severe penance for the sake of attaining salvation. The description of the penance of Marici is vivid. According to the account of Kalidasa, Marici was so absorbed in penance that he could not notice the happenings of the external world. He was motionless like the trunk of a tree. Ant-hills had grown around his body and serpents were moving freely on it. Birds had made their nests on his chest and matted hair.¹⁵⁷

There were several forms of penance in practice.¹⁵⁸ Sitting in the middle of four fires was considered to be a severe type of penance.¹⁵⁹ There were such sages who lived on 'Kusa' grass and

water alone.¹⁶⁰ Some of these sages kept their hands raised upward in order to attain salvation.¹⁶¹ Some of them consecrated their bodies by throwing themselves into fire while reciting Vedic mantras.¹⁶² There were also some who hung themselves on branches of trees with their legs upward and heads hanging downwards.¹⁶³ Practice of penance had other purposes also. Parvati practised penance for the sake of getting married to Siva.¹⁶⁴ Kalidasa had full faith in the efficacy of penance. In his view, a practitioner of penance could see through the past and the future.¹⁶⁵ He could produce anything by virtue of his penance and contemplation.¹⁶⁶ Kanva was supposed to have produced, through mere contemplation, garments of decoration from forest trees.¹⁶⁷ Sage Vasistha could see into the past.¹⁶⁸ He was considered to be endowed with the knowledge of the present, the past and the future.¹⁶⁹ Valmiki is said to have entertained Satrughna by means of his penance.¹⁷⁰ Visvamitra was endowed with such a power that he could create a new world and send a person to heaven along with his physical body.¹⁷¹ Sage Agastya was famous for his amazing deeds. He could drink water of the whole ocean.¹⁷² Siva could turn a person to ashes¹⁷³ and Durvasa could curse a person acting against his wishes.¹⁷⁴

Thus, the works of Kalidasa are replete with such references to penance. It seems that Kalidasa was fully acquainted with the *Vibhuti-pada* of the *Yoga Suta* of Patanjali, wherein such miracles of penance are described.¹⁷⁵ Most probably he had also paid a visit to those hermitages of his age where noted ascetics practised penance. Besides, some of his descriptions of penance are also quite in keeping with those of the *Ramayana*.¹⁷⁶ Perhaps he had also consulted the text of the *Ramayana* for such delineations.

Hermitage.¹⁷⁷

Penance was practised in the solitude of forests. Kalidasa gives a brief account of the hermitages of Valmiki,¹⁷⁸ Vasistha,¹⁷⁹ Kanva,¹⁸⁰ Cyavana,¹⁸¹ Agastya,¹⁸² Satakarni,¹⁸³ Sarbhanga¹⁸⁴ and Marici¹⁸⁵. These hermitages were considered very sacred and even a small amount of sin committed by their inmates was not forgiven.¹⁸⁶ Ayu, the son of Pururavas, was driven out of the hermi-

tage of Cyavana only on account of a minor sin of killing a bird.¹⁸⁷ Bharata, the son of Dusyanta was rebuked by some female anchorite in the hermitage of Marici due to the fact that he used to tease beasts of the forest.¹⁸⁸ In these hermitages, guests were honoured with 'Arghya' and 'Padya'¹⁸⁹ and deers were fondly tamed.¹⁹⁰

On the ground of above account it may be said that, Kalidasa was highly influenced by the *Ramayana*,¹⁹¹ which gives a detailed account of such hermitages, sages and anchorites.¹⁹²

Pilgrimage

In the days of Kalidasa, visiting a place of pilgrimage was considered to be a great religious act. The confluence of the Ganga and the Yamuna was supposed to wash away the sin of a sinner.¹⁹³ Such sacred places were called Tirthas. The "Saci Tirtha" was a famous 'Tirtha' of his age.¹⁹⁴ The confluences of the Ganga and the Yamuna,¹⁹⁵ the Ganga and the Sarayu¹⁹⁶ were given higher importance. Some of the 'Tirthas' were quite famous. In the days of Kalidasa religious persons gathered there in order to propitiate their evil destinies. Kanva is said to have gone to the Soma-tirtha for the sake of propitiating the ill-luck of Sakuntala.¹⁹⁷ Gokarna,¹⁹⁸ Puskara¹⁹⁹ and Apsaras²⁰⁰ were among other distinguished Tirthas of his age. Taking a dip in such Tirthas was considered to be sufficient for liberating the soul from the circle of birth and rebirth.²⁰¹ Bath at such places was supposed to give the honour and status equivalent to those of gods.²⁰² Water, from such Tirthas, was brought on auspicious occasions, particularly on the occasion of the coronation of a king.²⁰³

Thus, Kalidasa is highly influenced by the Puranic *Mahatmyas* of the 'Tirthas'.²⁰⁴ That is why he lays much stress on the importance of these Tirthas and expresses his faith in the outcome of the dips at such Tirthas.

Sacrifice

Kalidasa gives a vivid account of various sacrifices.²⁰⁵ The kings of the Raghu dynasty were fond of performing important sacrifices. King Dilipa is said to have milked the earth for the

sake of performing sacrifices.²⁰⁶ He is said to have completed ninety-nine horse sacrifices and when performing the 100th one, he met with strong opposition from Indra, who becomes envious of a person, who tries to take hold of the well known title "Satakratu" of him.²⁰⁷ After Dilipa, his son Raghu performed a well-known sacrifice 'Visvajit'²⁰⁸, in which he gave all his royal assets and wealth to priests and beggers. Besides, in *Raghuvamsha*, Sunanda, the Svayamvara-guide of Indumati, adds that the king of Magadha, celebrated innumerable sacrifices²⁰⁹. At the same time "Anuparaja" is also styled as one who planted several sacrificial posts in all the eighteen Islands.²¹⁰ The king of the Pandyas also is said to have been felicitated by sage Agastya, after his "Avabhrtha" bath.²¹¹ In canto IX of *Raghuvamsha* Dasaratha is said to have fixed golden sacrificial posts along the banks of the rivers—Tamasa and Sarayu.²¹² He is also said to have performed a sacrifice with a view to having a male child.²¹³ In canto XV of *Raghuvamsha*, Rama is stated to have performed a horse sacrifice. In *Malavikagnimitram*, king Pusyamitra is said to have performed a "Rajasuya-yajna."²¹⁴

According to Kalidasa's description, sacrifices were of distinct nature. A few of them lasted for a short period, while other took a long time.²¹⁵ There were a few sacrifices in which there was no killing of animals.²¹⁶ We find accounts of such sacrifice in the *Manu Smrti* also.²¹⁷ But, in general, there were a number of sacrifices in which animals were killed.²¹⁸ Here too, Kalidasa seems to be influenced by the *Ramayana*, which contains ample references to such sacrifices.²¹⁹ In fact, in the days of Kalidasa performing of sacrifices was in vogue and Kalidasa himself was in contact with the kings who performed such sacrifices. Thus, it is obvious that he had practical knowledge of them.

Satakratu

In ancient times, horse-sacrifice attained a notable place amongst other sacrifices. It was believed that one, who performed one-hundred horse sacrifices, would attain the status of Indra and thus, would be entitled to dethrone him from the post of Devendra.

We have occounts as to how Dilipa performed ninety nine horse sacrifices, but when proceeding to perform the hundredth he was opposed by Indra.²²⁰ The performer of one hundred horse sacrifices was called "Satakratu" which is a well-known epithet of Indra.

As has been stated above, it was the popular belief those days that sacrifices brought rich fruits to the sacrificer. That is why kings of those days were accustomed to perform sacrifices. Kalidasa seems to have taken a lot of sacrificial description from the courts of kings on the one hand and from the *Ramayana*,²²¹ the *Mahabharata*²²² and the *Puranas* on the other.²²³

Rajadharma

According to Manu, the king is endowed with divine powers.²²⁴ Kalidasa follows Manu in holding the view that the king is made by Brahma with heavenly qualities.²²⁵ It is because of this reason that he is called *Isvara*²²⁶, *Isa*²²⁷ and *Deva*²²⁸ etc., which are the appellations of God. A king is expected to be well-versed in all the sciences and arts.²²⁹ He is required to be so powerful as to be able to protect his subjects and keep them in order.²³⁰ Kalidasa maintains that the first duty of a king is to please his subjects,²³¹ and maintain law and order in his kingdom.²³² He is expected to look after four "Varnas" and four "Asramas" prospering in his kingdom.²³³ He is also expected to carry on the responsibilities of administration twenty-four hours without taking any rest.²³⁴ As a worthy father takes care of his children, so a king should work for his subjects.²³⁵ He is also expected to punish the accused and maintain peace in his kingdom.²³⁶ In his *Artha Sastra*, Kautilya maintains that the king must not allow any one to violate the rules and regulations of the *Varnasrama Dharma*.²³⁷ In the same way, Kalidasa also holds the view that the king is the patron of *Varnasrama Dharma*²³⁸ and he maintains it in order.

In *Abhijnana Sakuntalam*, Sarngarava, while paying tributes to king Dusyanta, observes that he is scrupulously maintaining the condition of society, and even the person of the lowest class, under his rule, does not go astray from the noble path.²³⁹ In *Vikramo-*

rvasiyam, this idea is again endorsed.²⁴⁰ Besides, the king was considered to be the lawful claimant of the sixth portion of one's total income.²⁴¹ It was believed that the taxes charged from the subjects were to be invested in their own interests in a multiplied quantity.²⁴² These duties of a king are aptly described in several texts such as the *Manu Smrti*,²⁴³ the *Kautiliya Artha Sastra*,²⁴⁴ the *Gautama Dharma Sutra*²⁴⁵ and the *Ramayana*.²⁴⁶ Kalidasa seems to have taken the ideas regarding the duties of a king from the *Manusmrti*, which is an authentic text on the "Rajadharma." In his *Raghuvamsa*, while pointing out the duties of a king, Kalidasa refers to this text of Manu.²⁴⁷

VARNASRAMA-DHARMA

Varna

Kalidasa is highly influenced by Manu's rules on the caste system.²⁴⁸ Manu's *Varnasrama* system is the main feature of Indian culture and society. It seems that in the days of Kalidasa the social laws were strictly followed. None was allowed to deviate from his parental profession. In *Abhijnana Sakuntalam* the fisherman aptly asserts that the hereditary profession is the best one and that it should be followed without any hesitation.²⁴⁹ He also refers to a *srotriya* who, in spite of being tender-hearted, kills the sacrificial animal without any hesitation.²⁵⁰ There is another instance of Sambuka who, violating the social laws, was practising penance and was, therefore, punished by king Rama.²⁵¹ The king was considered wholly responsible for maintaining the caste system and punishing the person who violated it.²⁵²

Brahmana

It appears that in the days of Kalidasa, Brahmanas turned bigots. They contested regularly with Ksatriyas for supremacy in society. In *Raghuvamsa*, Parasurama, a Brahmana warrior, challenges the supremacy of Rama, a Ksatriya warrior.²⁵³ In canto XV of *Raghuvamsa*, the disgraceful language used by a Brahmana against Rama, is an expression of the feeling of superiority of a Brahmana felt in relation to a Ksatriya.²⁵⁴ In *Abhijnana Sakuntalam* this viewpoint of Brahmanas is clearly discernible, where an anch-

orite rebukes king Dusyanta for pursuing a deer which belongs to his hermitage.²⁵⁵ Similarly, the conduct of Durvassas in the IV Act of *Sakuntalam* is another instance of priestly arrogance.²⁵⁶ In the Vth Act, the conduct of Sarngarava is also indicative of Brahmanical hegemony.²⁵⁷

Thus we see that though Kalidasa was highly influenced by Manu in describing social and moral laws²⁵⁸, yet at the same time he was no less loyal to the current social and moral practices of his age.

Ksatriya

In the days of Kalidasa, Ksatriyas were considered to be the sole protectors of living beings.²⁵⁹ Kingship was hereditary.²⁶⁰ Ksatriyas were in the habit of giving due respect to Brahmanas. Dusyanta resists the temptation of Sakuntala's charm under the impression that she might have been a Brahmana girl.²⁶¹ Dilipa shows great respect to Vasistha.²⁶² With a view to fulfilling the wishes of a Brahmana boy, Raghu, being himself out of pocket, decides to invade Kubera.²⁶³ Rama wishes to conquer the God of death to revive the Brahmana's son who had met premature death.²⁶⁴ He presents his whole kingdom to Valmiki, only on account of the fact that he has great respect for the sage.²⁶⁵ Kusa hands over the whole wealth of Kusavati to a "srotriya" Brahmana.²⁶⁶ Here, Kalidasa follows Manu in describing the virtues of Ksatriya kings.²⁶⁷

Vaisya

Vaisyas are mentioned only a few times in the works of Kalidasa.²⁶⁸ As Manu had prescribed, their usual occupations were, Agriculture, Trade and preservation of Cattle.²⁶⁹ They used to venture in high seas in the pursuit of wealth.²⁷⁰ Like rich men, they practised polygamy.²⁷¹ The occupations of the Vaisyas, as reflected in Kalidasa, were the same as prescribed by Manu.²⁷²

Sudra

Kalidasa refers to Sudras only a few times in his works.²⁷³ In *Abhijnana Sakuntalam*, there is a reference to a fisherman. In *Raghuvamsha*, we have a reference to a Sudra ascetic named Sambuka who was punished by Rama.²⁷⁴ It seems that in this period

Sudras were reduced to the level of slaves, being entitled only to serve the upper classes. In fact, Kalidasa was highly influenced by the *Dharma Sutras*,²⁷⁵ and the *Smritis*²⁷⁶ in referring to the duties of Sudras.

Asrama

Kalidasa refers to four stages of man's life—Brahmacarya, Grastha, Vanaprastha, Sanyasa.²⁷⁷

Brahmacarya

In this stage of life, a Brahmana "Brahmacari" was expected to learn the *Vedas*,²⁷⁸ a Ksatriya archery,²⁷⁹ while a Vaisya was expected to learn business. A Sudra was to learn the art of serving the upper classes.

Grastha

After finishing study a Brahmana "Brahmacari" was allowed to marry and lead the life of a house-holder. It is to be noted here that a person belonging to a particular *Varna* was allowed to marry within his own caste. In special cases, the man of a higher class was allowed to marry the girl of a lower class. In *Abhijnana Sakuntalam*, Dusyanta once tries to console himself that Sakuntala might be the off-spring of Kanya by a woman of an inferior order.²⁸⁰ In *Malavikagnimitram*, there is a reference to a "Varnavaro bhrata,"²⁸¹ a brother, born of a woman of lower order. Parasurama also is said to be the son of a Brahmana father and Ksatriya mother.²⁸² Thus, in the age of Kalidasa "Anuloma" marriages were in vogue and were permitted by scriptures,²⁸³ but "Pratiloma" marriages were strictly prohibited. Dusyanta inquires about the parentage of Sakuntala under the impression that she would be unfit for him if she is the daughter of a Brahmana.²⁸⁴ Thus it is clear that "Pratiloma" marriages were strictly prohibited in the days of Kalidasa.²⁸⁵ It seems that the laws of moral discipline were the same as prescribed by Manu. "Grastha Asrama" was regarded as an important one amongst the four Asramas. This "Asrama" was wholly responsible for feeding the people of other "Asramas" and maintaining them by the supply of food grains and other necessities.²⁸⁶ Manu also gives the same importance to this "Asrama."²⁸⁷ Hospitality, performance of

sacrifices and begetting a male-child, were the main aims behind entering this "Asrama."²⁸⁸

Vanaprastha & Sanyasa

The life a Vanaprastha was that of a forester, devoted to study and contemplation. Perfectly divorced from the worldly attachments, a forester had to devote his whole time to practising penance. When one would have completely renounced the worldly affairs, was permitted to perform the duties of a "Sanyasin." The life of Raghu, as described in the beginning of canto VIII of *Raghuvamsa*, points to the path of a "Sanyasin."²⁸⁹ A "Sanyasin" does never stand in need of obsequial ceremonies.²⁹⁰ In canto XVIII king Pusya, having voluntarily renounced his kingdom, subjected himself to the guidance of Jaimini for Yogic practices.²⁹¹ In *Abhijnana Sakuntalam*, Dusyanta, while referring to the kings of Puru Dynasty, maintains that after spending the prime of their lives in palaces and enjoying all objects of the senses, they took resort to the forest along with their wives.²⁹² In the same way, the kings of Raghu dynasty also were accustomed to renouncing the world in their old age and breathing their last through *Yoga*.²⁹³

From the above account it is obvious that Kalidasa followed the general trend of religious thoughts and beliefs prevailing in his days. It seems that the society of those days was highly influenced by the *Manusmri*.²⁹⁴ This *Smrti* made rules of the "Varnasrama Dharma" very hard and fast.²⁹⁵ Consequently none was allowed to violate the rules of caste system. Every member of the society was expected to follow his own duty honestly, and even the slightest deviation in it was considered "Apacara"²⁹⁶ or "Varna Vikriya."²⁹⁷ Different "Varnas" were expected to follow their own "Sahajadharma" and abide by the rules of "Varnasrama-dharma."²⁹⁸

Thus it is clear that Kalidasa is very strict in abiding by the "Varnasramadharma." He follows the rules of Manu in this respect. That is why he does never allow any change in the prescribed duties of different "Varnas" and "Asramas."

SACRAMENT

SAMSKARA

Kalidasa has used the word *Samskara* in various senses, such as education, cultivation, training,¹ refinement, perfection, grammatical purity² and polish.³ He has also used this word to denote embellishment, ornamentation,⁴ the effect of a work and the merit of an action.⁵ But generally, the word *Samskara* is used in the sense of religious rites, ceremonies etc. Kalidasa refers, in his works, to several *Samskaras* of ceremonial nature, particularly, Pumsavana⁶, Jatakarma,⁷ Namakarana,⁸ Caula,⁹ Aksararambha,¹⁰ Upanayana,¹¹ Godana,¹² Vivaha,¹³ and Antyesti.¹⁴

The origin of these *Samskaras* is very ancient. In the *Rgveda*, there are some hymns connected with popular *Samskaras*—wedding,¹⁵ conception¹⁶ and funeral.¹⁷ In the *Atharva Veda* also several religious rites and ceremonies are mentioned.¹⁸ The *Gopatha Brahmana* gives a fragmentary account of the Upanayana *Samskara*.¹⁹ The *Grhya Sutras* and the *Dharma Sutras* describe these *Samskaras* in detail. The *Smritis* also mention such sacraments in brief. The *Samskaras*, referred to by Kalidasa, have their origin in the *Grhya Sutras*. It is evident from the following details.

Pumsavana

The main objective of this *Samskara* is to enable a woman to give birth to a male child.²⁰ The word *Pumsavana*, used in the *Atharva Veda* for the first time, refers to the same rite.²¹ According to the *Asvalayana Grhya Sutra* the following process should be adopted in this ceremony :

The husband, in the third month of pregnancy, under the constellation Tisya, gives his wife thrice to eat two beans and one grain of barley with cow's curd and then asks her thrice: What dost thou drink? In her answer, she says; '*Pumsavanam*'. In this way, he should make her take three handfuls of curd, beans and barley.²² Besides, other *Grhya Sutras* also suggest to the same process with a slight difference.²³ Kalidasa refers to this ceremony in his *Raghuvamsa* canto III. There, king Dilipa performs this ceremony at the time his queen Sudaksina is pregnant and the

signs of pregnancy are clearly visible.³⁴ According to the *Grhya Sutras* this ceremony should be performed in the third month of pregnancy.

Jatakarma

Jatakarma is a ceremony to be performed after the birth of a child. In the *Taittiriya Samhita*²⁵ we have an account of this ceremony. The *Grhya Sutras* are in agreement as to the time of its performance.²⁶ According to different *Grhyu Sutras*, this ceremony has its different components: Home,²⁷ Medhajanana,²⁸ Ayusya,²⁹ Amsabhimarsana,³⁰ Mantrabhimantrana,³¹ Panca-Brahmana-sthapana,³² Stanapradana,³³ Desabhimantrana,³⁴ Namakarana³⁵ and keeping the evil spirits apart.³⁶

In the *Asvalayana Grhya Sutra*, this ceremony is described thus:

When the child is born, the father in the presence of other persons should touch him, give him to eat honey mixed with clarified butter in which gold is rubbed with a golden spoon. The father should also recite the verse—"I give unto thee....."³⁷. Kalidasa seems to be aware of the details of this ceremony. In his *Raghuvamsa*, all the rites are performed at the time of Raghu's Jatakarma *Samskara*.³⁸

Namakarana

The ceremony of giving a name to the child is referred to by almost all *Grhya Sutras*.³⁹ Different *Grhya Sutras* prescribe different dates for its performance.⁴⁰ The main features of this ceremony are the following :

In this ceremony, the mother of the child, covering it with a neat and clean cloth, hands it over to its father. Then the offerings are made for Prajapati etc. The father of the child, then, recites the verse, "Ko'si, katamo'si, konamasi...etc.,"⁴¹ and touches the breaths of the child. The name is given to the child in accompaniment of recitation of mantras.⁴²

The *Bharadvaja Grhya Sutra* prescribes the recitation of *Jaya* and *Rastrabhrta* mantras in this ceremony. It also maintains that the offerings of eight oblations of *Ghria* should be given with the

recitation of eight *Mantras* "May Dhatr.....etc".⁴³ *Hiranyakesi Grhya Sutra* also describes it similarly. It, however, adds that two names should be given to the child in this ceremony.⁴⁴ Kalidasa endorses the idea of giving only one name to the child in this ceremony.⁴⁵

Cudakarana

In this ceremony, a lock of hair is left on the head of the child and the rest is shaved for the first time. Different *Grhya Sutras* are in agreement as to the date of its performance. They describe the third year as the proper time of its celebration⁴⁶, except a few *Grhya Sutras* which give an option between the first and the third year.⁴⁷ The main features of this ceremony are as under :

Moistening of head, cutting of hair with the prayer of non-injury, hiding of hair in cow-dung and retaining the hair at the top of the head.⁴⁸ Kalidasa refers to this ceremony in his *Raghuvamsha*. Raghu started to learn alphabets when his hair were shaved.⁴⁹ Thus, in the views of Kalidasa, the 'Cudakarana' should be performed before the 'Aksararambha'.

Aksararambha

The *Grhya Sutras* are quite silent regarding this ceremony. None of them mentions it. It is only the *Artha Sastra* of Kautilya which mentions this ceremony. According to it the 'Aksararambha' should be performed after the 'Caulakarma'.⁵⁰ Kalidasa gives the same order of its performance. Raghu started to learn Alphabets just after his hair were shaved.⁵¹

Upanayana

This ceremony has elaborately been discussed in several *Grhya Sutras* and *Dharma Sutras*.⁵² According to the *Asvalayana Grhya Sutra*, it should be performed in the 8th, 11th and 12th year respectively, in the case of Brahmanas, Ksatriyas and Vaisyas.⁵³ This idea is endorsed by several other *Grhya Sutras*.⁵⁴ The *Mahabhasya* of Patanjali also suggests that the Upanayana of a Brahmana should be performed in the 8th year from the date of conception.⁵⁵ Manu

also holds the same view but he relaxes the condition in certain situations. He suggests its performance in the 5th, 6th and 8th year in the case of Brahmanas, Ksatriyas and Vaisyas respectively, if they are very anxious to abide by their hereditary convention and are keen to join it at an early date.⁵⁶ According to the *Grhya Sutras* the main features of this ceremony are as follows :

The boy to be initiated in this rite has to wear two garments,⁵⁷ take a staff made of wood⁵⁸ and put on a *Mekhala*.⁵⁹ He is then presented before a teacher. The teacher takes hold of the hand of the boy who is required to be clean-shaved and wear new garments.⁶⁰ The teacher then takes the girdle, ties it round the loin of the boy, gives him a staff and initiates him to his pupilship. On this occasion, the teacher imparts to the initiate several instructions.⁶¹ After these rites are over, Brahmanas are given food and oblations are offered to the fire.⁶² In this connection the *Baudhayana Grhya Sutra* suggests that the sacred thread also be given in this ceremony.⁶³ But the other *Grhya Sutras* are silent on this point.

Kalidasa gives much importance to this ceremony. He maintains that it should be performed before initiating a student to the Vedic lore.⁶⁴ In *Raghuvamsa* it is stated that teachers started to teach Raghu when his Upanayana *Samskara* was performed.⁶⁵

Godana

This ceremony is performed at the time of shaving the hair of the head and other parts of the body. Several references to this ceremony are found in the *Satapatha Brahmana*.⁶⁶ The *Grhya Sutras* maintain that this ceremony should be performed at the age of sixteen.⁶⁷ The procedure of this ceremony is the same as that of the 'Cudakarana', except that the armpit and the beard are also to be shaved in this *Samskara*.⁶⁸ In this ceremony, a cow is given as fee for cutting the hair.⁶⁹ Kalidasa refers to this ceremony in his *Raghuvamsa*. In his view this ceremony precedes the marriage ceremony.⁷⁰ Raghu was married just after being shaved.⁷¹

Vivaha

The *Vivaha* is a very ancient ceremony.⁷² It is one of the most important ceremonies performed in the life of a man. Through this ceremony a *Brahmacari* is allowed to enter the life of a householder. According to the *Grhya Sutras*, this ceremony should be celebrated in the auspicious Naksatras of Uttara-phalguni, Mrgasiras, Rohini and Svati.⁷³ The *Ramayana* prefers the Uttara Phalguni Naksatra for this ceremony⁷⁴ and so does the *Mahabharata*.⁷⁵

It appears that Kalidasa follows the text of the *Ramayana* in regard to this ceremony. He refers to the same "Uttara-phalguni" Naksatra as the most suitable Naksatra for the celebration of *Vivaha*.⁷⁶

Generally, all the *Grhya Sutras* and the *Dharma-Sutras* describe its eight forms : Brahma, Prajapatiya, Arsa, Daiva, Gandharva, Asura, Raksasa and Paisaca.⁷⁸ But the *Apastamba Dharma Sutra* speaks of only six forms of marriage and omits Prajapatiya and Paisaca.⁷⁹ From amongst these forms, Kalidasa refers only to Prajapatiya,⁸⁰ and Gandharva⁸¹ forms. He also refers to the *Svayamvara* form of marriage,⁸² which is not enumerated in *Dharma Sutras*.

Probably, in the days of Kalidasa, the *Svayamvara* form of marriage was very much in vogue in royal families. This form of marriage is supposed to be a sort of the Gandharva form. *Dharma Sutras*⁸³ and *Smritis*⁸⁴ allow a virgin, who attains puberty and whose parents do not find a suitable suitor for three years, to seek her husband according to her own sweet will. The *Visnu Dharma Sutra* also recommends the *Svayamvara* form of marriage for such a girl whose father is unable to find out a suitable suitor for her.⁸⁵

In *Abhijnana Sakuntalam*, Sakuntala seeks her husband in the same way. But the *Svayamvara* of Indumati in *Raghuvamsa* is of a different nature. There she had to select her husband from amongst a large number of persons who came as contestants for her hand. The *Svayamvara* of Sita in the *Ramayana* and the *Svayam-*

vara of Damayanti in the *Mahabharata* are the prototypes of that of Indumati in *Raghuvamsha*.⁸⁶

It is to be noted here that in the *Svayamvara* form too, the virgin is given according to the rules of the *Prajapatiya* form, as is evident from the account of Kalidasa.⁸⁷ In the marriage ceremony, there are three types of activities : preliminary, main, and secondary. Kalidasa has referred to some of them in his *Raghuvamsha*⁸⁸ and *Kumarasambhava*.⁸⁹ These parts of the marriage ceremony are discussed below.

Varapreksana

This practice was in vogue in the *Samhita* period,⁹⁰ as well as in the *Sutra* period.⁹¹ Kalidasa refers to this practice as current in his days.⁹²

Vagdana

According to *Grhya Sutras* in this rite the marriage is settled.⁹³ The *San. Gr. Su.* lays much stress on the performance of this rite.⁹⁴ Kalidasa refers to this practice in his *Kumarasambhava*.⁹⁵ He says that Himalaya, when asked by the *Rsis*, accepted their proposal and settled the marriage of Parvati after seeking the consent of his wife, Mena.⁹⁶

Mandapakarana

A special shade is constructed at the time of the marriage ceremony. According to the *Paraskara Grhya Sutra*, some other rites also should be performed under this shade.⁹⁷ Kalidasa too refers to this ceremonial ground in both of his poems—*Raghuvamsha*⁹⁸ and *Kumarasambhava*.⁹⁹

Vadhugrhagamana

The *Sankhayana Grhya Sutra* puts it as the main feature of the marriage ceremony.¹⁰⁰ Kalidasa refers to this practice in both of his poems—*Raghuvamsha* and *Kumarasambhava*.¹⁰¹

Madhuparka

Some *Grhya Sutras* describe it as the main feature of welcoming the bridegroom at the house of the bride.¹⁰² Kalidasa mentions

this practice in both his of works.¹⁰³ In this rite, the bridegroom is given a seat—‘Vistara’ and *Arghya*, *Madhu* and *Ghrta* to eat. He is also given two garments to put on.¹⁰⁴

‘Snapana, Paridhapana and Sannahana

Some *Grhya Sutras* hold the view that in the marriage ceremony two new garments should be given to the bride to wear.¹⁰⁵ The *Gobhila Grhya Sutra* refers to bathing and putting on one garment.¹⁰⁶ The *Manava Grhya Sutra* refers to *Paridhapana* and *Sannahana* both.¹⁰⁷ Kalidasa refers to bathing with several anointing materials and putting on garments along with the besmearing of several auspicious ointments.¹⁰⁸

‘Pratisara-Sutra bandhana

According to *Grhya Sutras*, in this rite a string is tied round the wrist of the bride.¹⁰⁹ Kalidasa seems to recognize it as *Kautuka Sutra*. In *Kumarasambhava*, Mena, while teing ‘Kautuka Sutra’ round the wrist of Parvati, was full of tears on account of excessive joy. She became so much impassioned that she tied it at an improper place.¹¹⁰

‘Vadhu-vara-niskramana

According to the *Paraskara Grhya Sutra*, when the proper decoration of the bride and the bridegroom is over, they are allowed to have a seat in the *Pandala* where the ceremony is to be celebrated.¹¹¹ Kalidasa refers to this practice in his *Kumarasambhava*.¹¹²

‘Paraspara-samiksana

When both, the bride and the bridegroom, are seated at a place, they are expected to look at each other for the first time.¹¹³ This practice was in vogue in the days of Kalidasa.¹¹⁴ In their marriage ceremony, Siva and Parvati looked at each other when seated at their respective places in the *Pandala*.¹¹⁵ Aja and Indumati acted in the same way at the time of their marriage.¹¹⁶

Home of Ajya

In this rite, oblations are offered to the fire. According to *Grhya Sutras*, this ceremony precedes the *Panigrahana Samskara*.¹¹⁷ Fire is considered to be the eye-witness of the marriage ceremony, that is why it is propitiated by offering oblations of *Ajya*.¹¹⁸ Kalidasa refers to this practice in his *Raghuvamsa*.¹¹⁹

Panigrahana

After offering oblation to the fire, the bridegroom is allowed to take hold of the hand of the bride.¹²⁰ *Grhya Sutras* unanimously describe it as the main feature of the marriage ceremony.¹²¹ Kalidasa refers to this rite in both of his poems.¹²²

Laja-Homa

Grhya Sutras maintain that in the marriage ceremony the bride should be asked to offer fried grains to the fire.¹²³ Kalidasa mentions this sort of offering in both of his poems.¹²⁴

Agni-pradaksina

Circumambulation of fire is an essential part of the marriage ceremony. In this practice, both the bride and the bridegroom are asked to take a round of the fire with the accompaniment of the recital of some *mantras*.¹²⁵ Kalidasa also refers to this practice in both of his poems.¹²⁶

Dhruva-darsana

According to some *Grhya Sutras*, different stars should be shown to the bride in the proceedings of the marriage ceremony.¹²⁷ But the *Paraskara Grhya Sutra* maintains that only the Polar star should be shown to her in this ceremony.¹²⁸ Kalidasa also holds the same view.¹²⁹ He makes Siva show the Polar star—*Dhruva* to Parvati.¹³⁰

Murdhabhiseka

Sprinkling of holy water on the heads of the bride and the bridegroom is prescribed by several *Grhya Sutras*.¹³¹ Kalidasa refers to sprinkling of wet-rice in place of water on the heads of

the bride and the bridegroom.¹³² This is the last part of the marriage ceremony. It is meant for blessing the couple for happy conjugal life. Thus, Kalidasa gives an account of the marriage ceremony in the same specific way as is given by the *Grhya Sutras*.

Antyesti

Antyesti is considered to be the last sacrament of the Hindus. In the *Atharva-Veda*¹³³ and the *Taittiriya Aranyaka*¹³⁴ a reference is made to this ceremony. As a form of this rite, self-immolation was prevalent in the period of *Grhya Sutras*.¹³⁵ In the *Ramayana*¹³⁶ and the *Mahabharata*¹³⁷, there are several references to self-immolation.

Kalidasa also maintains that Rati resolved to throw herself into the fire and burn herself alive after the death of her husband, Kama.¹³⁸ Besides, there are some references to funeral obsequies in the works of Kalidasa. In canto VIII of *Raghuvamsha*, Aja performs the funeral rites of his wife, Indumati.¹³⁹ In canto XIX, the ministers of Agnivarna, on his premature and tragic death, secretly cremated him in the palace ground.¹⁴⁰ There is also a passing reference to the cremation of Sumati, the Minister of Madhavasena.¹⁴¹ As is already said, the Antyesti is the last sacrament of the Hindus. This right is considered indispensable for the well-being of the departed soul.

Thus, from the above account, it is established that Kalidasa must have been in close contact with the scriptures from which he took all his religious and sacramental thoughts. The *Grhya Sutras* helped him to a large extent in describing the *Samskaras* in their actual form. He might have taken certain features of these sacraments from the practices of his time, but the details of these sacraments are based on the religious texts.

CHAPTER VII

PHILOSOPHY

Kalidasa was acquainted with all the six systems of Indian Philosophy, i. e. Samkhya, Yoga, Vedanta, Mimamsa, Nyaya and Vaisesika. He also seems to refer to certain doctrines of Buddhism and Jainism. Besides, the influence of the *Bhagavadgita* is also visible in his works.

SAMKHYA

Amongst the six systems of India Philosophy, Samkhya system is the oldest.¹ According to this system, the world has evolved out of three "gunas"—Satva, Rajas and Tamas. The state of equilibrium of these three "gunas" is called Prakrti.² Kalidasa refers to these "gunas" in his works.³ He maintains that the "gunas" subsist in Prakrti⁴, and that the world has been caused by them.⁵ Prakrti

According to Samkhya system, Prakrti, which is also known as "Pradhana" or "Avyakta", is the root cause of the world.⁶ The *Kathopanisad* recognizes it as "Avyakta" and maintains that it is a principle greater than "Mahat."⁷ The *Bhagavadgita* also maintains that all the activities of the world are due to Prakrti,⁸ and that the world evolves out of it in the beginning and dissolves into it in the end.⁹ According to the *Gita* Prakrti and Purusa are two fundamental causes of the world.¹⁰ Purusa is only the observer of the works of Prakrti and is perfectly detached from its entanglements. Prakrti is unconscious while Purusa is conscious. Prakrti has no interest of its own in the evolution of the world. It develops the world for the sake of Purusa.

Kalidasa too seems to recognize Prakrti in the same character. He has used the epithet '*purusartha pravartinim*' for it,¹¹ which very well reveals its dedication to Purusa. He also calls it 'Avyakta',¹² in the same way as the Samkhya does.¹³ Purusa

Samkhya recognizes Purusa as an eye-witness to the works of Prakrti.¹⁴ The *Samkhya Sutra* has two Sutras 'Saksat Sambandhat'

*saksitram*¹⁵ and '*Audasinyam ceti*'.¹⁶ These two sutras throw sufficient light on the characteristics of Purusa. Thus the Purusa of Samkhya is an eye-witness to the works of Prakrti and is perfectly detached from the activities of the world. Kalidasa, while eulogizing Brâhma, attributes to him the virtues of the Purusa of Samkhya and uses the epithets '*Tad darsinam*' and '*Udasinam*'.¹⁷ It may be noted here that these epithets are quite identical to those of Samkhya.

Buddhi

According to Samkhya system, Prakrti gives rise to Mahat—Buddhi, and Mahat to Ahamkara, and Ahamkara gives rise to Panca-tanmatras and eleven senses and; Panca-tanmatras to Panca-mahabhutas.¹⁸ Kalidasa seems to have been aware of this process of evolution of the world. He refers to the thoughts of the "Apta Purusas," who are of the opinion that the Buddhi—Intellect, is evolved out of the Avyakta.¹⁹

Pramana

Samkhya system admits three Pramanas—Pratyaksa, Anumana and Agama—Sabda, which are supposed to be the main sources of valid knowledge.²⁰ The Yoga also believes in this system in this respect.²¹ Kalidasa refers to these Pramanas and shows his acquaintance with them.²²

YOGA

Like Samkhya, Yoga too is one of the oldest systems of Indian Philosophy. Kalidasa shows his awareness of this system.²³ It is clear from direct references of different technical terms of this system in his works. For example, both "Yoga-vidhi"²⁴ and "Yoga-samadhi" are alluded to by the poet.²⁵ He also thinks Yoga to be suitable means to attaining salvation and enjoying the nearness of the Supreme Self.²⁶ Let us discuss the Yoga system in the light of our understanding of the texts of the *Gita* and the *Yoga Sutra*, a little more clearly, in order that we may appreciate Kalidasa's acquaintance with it.

Yoga is said to consist in complete restraint of the functioning of the mind.²⁷ There are eight stages of Yoga—Yama, Niya-

ma, Asana, Pranayama, Pratyahara, Dharana, Dhyana and Samadhi.²⁸ Among these eight forms or stages of Yoga Yama, Niyama, Asana, Pranayama and Pratyahara are supposed to be external aids which create the background, standing against which an aspirant makes his way to the final goal of Yoga. Dharana, Dhyana and Samadhi are supposed to be internal sources, which enable an aspirant to enjoy the proximity of the Supreme Self. Let us define these means because they play an important role in leading the aspirant to the proximity of God.

Dharana

Concentration of the mind on a particular place, i. e. naval plexus etc., is called Dharana.²⁹

Dhyana

Fixation of mind on a particular point is called Dhyana.³⁰ In this state of mind, the contemplator, the contemplation and the object of contemplation are distinctly observed and the contemplator feels himself as an individual treading on the path of Yoga and feels himself to be different from the Supreme Self.

Samadhi

Samadhi is an advanced stage of Dhyana. In this stage the contemplator, the contemplation and the object of contemplation get rid of their mutual differences.³¹ In this state of mind, the contemplator feels his oneness with the Supreme Self, and complete cessation of the functioning of the senses and mind takes place. The contemplator loses all his consciousness of the external world and feels himself united with the Supreme Self.³² These three internal sources of self-realisation are very important for an aspirant of Yoga. Kalidasa has referred to these three important means of self-realisation in his works.³³ For example, in *Raghuvamsha*, there is a brief sketch of Yogic practices undertaken by Raghu.³⁴ In this context, Raghu is said to have renounced all his royal assets and accepted the duties of a recluse.³⁵ Pointing out the characteristic features of the kings of Raghu dynasty Kalidasa calls them—“Sanyaminah”.³⁶ It is to be noted here that the combination of Dharana, Dhyana and Samadhi is called ‘Sanyama’³⁷, and it is in this sense of ‘Sanyama’ that he calls the kings of Raghu dynasty—“Sanyaminah”.

The other stages of Yoga are also referred to by the poet in his works. While describing the penance of Raghu, he says that Raghu used to sit on the Kusa grass³⁸ and control the five vital breaths.³⁹ Thus, in this context he refers to two stages of Yoga—Asana and Pranayama. Besides, the ultimate goal attainable to an aspirant of Yoga, is supposed to be the Supreme God. Every individual, practising Yoga, seeks proximity with the Supreme Self. Kalidasa also holds the same view and says that Raghu followed the same path with a view to attaining the proximity of the “Parama Purusa.”⁴⁰ Likewise, in *Kumarasambhava*, we have a vivid and detailed account of Yogic practices.⁴¹ While giving an account of the yogic practices of Siva, Kalidasa presents him as sitting in the posture of “Paryankavandha”.⁴² The upper portion of his body is quite straight and motionless and his shoulders are slightly bent.⁴³ His palms are in his lap as if they are blooming lotuses.⁴⁴ His eyes are fixed on the tip of his nose.⁴⁵ He has controlled the five vital breaths and is looking like a cloud rich in water.⁴⁶ Thus, here, Kalidasa describes the process of the Asana in the same specific way as Patanjali does in his *Yoga Sutra*.⁴⁷ Siva, then, concentrates his mind and other senses through Pranayama. After controlling his mind completely he tries to unite his own self with the Supreme Self—Aksara Brahma, by means of Samadhi.⁴⁸ Kalidasa says that Siva is absorbed in Samadhi with the determination to perceive the Transcendental light known as “Paramatman.”⁴⁹

Thus, after considering the influence of the Samkhya and Yoga on the works of Kalidasa, we can maintain that Kalidasa is not only well versed in these two systems of Indian Philosophy but also shows a very strong impact of these systems in his works.

GITA, YOGA SUTRA AND KALIDASA

The *Gita* gives a brief but remarkable account of the process of Samadhi. It suggests that by controlling nine openings of the body,⁵⁰ putting the mind in the heart and placing breaths in the head, one can contemplate on the Supreme Self.⁵¹ This account of Samadhi is quite similar to that of Kalidasa.⁵² While describ-

ing the process of Samadhi, Kalidasa has used the same technical terms which have been used in the *Gita*. For instance, we have almost the same clause in both the texts :

'Yam aksaram vedavido vadanti'.⁵³

'Yam aksaram ksetravido viduh'.⁵⁴

Besides, Kalidasa maintains that in the state of perfect contemplation, Yogins contemplate on the "Aksara Brahma"⁵⁵ and attain the Transcendental light—*Parama-jyoti*.⁵⁶ This idea of Kalidasa seems to be based on the *Gita*.⁵⁷ In the *Gita*, Krsna maintains that by means of concentration one can get the proximity of "Parama Purusa"⁵⁸ who is also called 'Aksara' by those who are conversant with the *Vedas*.⁵⁹ Thus, the idea of "Aksara", as alluded to by Kalidasa, is based on the *Gita*⁶⁰ which is said to be the essence of the *Upanisads*.⁶¹ Moreover, the conception of "Ksetra"⁶² and "Ksetriya"⁶³ as put forth by Kalidasa, also seems to be based on the *Gita*.⁶⁴

In *Raghuvamsa*, Kalidasa refers to the "Yoganidra" of Visnu.⁶⁵ Visnu is supposed to enter his conscious sleep at the end of the world. Kalidasa has strong faith in Yogic "Siddhis" also.⁶⁶ He thinks that a man possessed of Yogic powers can enter into a bolted door.⁶⁷ He can see at a distant place and can investigate into the matter of his own interest.⁶⁸ In this connection, we find that Kalidasa has used the word "Pranidhana"⁶⁹ in the sense of perceiving things from a distant place.⁷⁰ He also thinks that by virtue of Yogic powers one can curse any one and bring dire consequences to the offender,⁷¹ can turn any one to ashes,⁷² can disappear from the eyes of the people⁷³ and produce any article of his choice.⁷⁴

Such Yogic powers and spiritual accomplishments are referred to in the *Yoga Sutra* of Patanjali.⁷⁵ Patanjali lays stress on the concentration of mind which gives rise to several spiritual powers, known as "Siddhis".⁷⁶ He maintains that such powers are also useful from the point of view of attaining salvation and proximity of God.⁷⁷

Kalidasa maintains that a man, who, on account of the developed state of his mind, becomes oblivious of the distinction

between clod and gold is called "Sthiradhi".⁷⁸ This term of Kalidasa is the same as that of the *Gita*. The *Gita* uses the words "Sthiradhi" and "Sthitaprajna".⁷⁹ In the *Gita* Krsna defines 'Sthiradhi' as one who has full control over one's mind and feels oneself contented within oneself.⁸⁰ Other virtues of a 'Sthiradhi' as noted by him are : remaining detached in the state of pleasure as well as pain, in misery as well as abundance and keeping away from fear as well as anger.⁸¹ Then it follows that the *Gita* and the *Yoga Sutra* have had considerable influence on the works and ideas of Kalidasa. He has not only adopted the technical terms which he uses in his works but also has borrowed to some extent the Yogic and Philosophical ideas of these two texts.

VEDANTA

Vedanta is the most popular school of Indian Philosophy. It has had much impact on the thinking of the people all over the world. It deals mainly with the concepts of Brahman, Atman, Maya, Jiva and Jagat. Among these, Brahman has been a subject of much controversy. The Upanisadic literature has presented a detailed account of Brahman.⁸² According to the *Taittiriya Upanisad*, the world has emanated from Brahman, is sustained by It and will be dissolved into It.⁸³ In the *Kathopanisad*, we have a vivid description of the nature of Brahman. It is said to be indescribable and imperceptible on the one hand, and serve as the source of the energy of the sense organs on the other.⁸⁴ Upanisadic texts also use the term 'Atman' in the sense of Brahman. In their view, it is Atman that alone existed in the beginning of the world, and that It expanded Itself in different forms.⁸⁵ In the *Mundakopanisad*, Brahman is given the same status of Atman.⁸⁶ It is said to have sprung first among "Devas", and is supposed to be the creator and protector of the world.⁸⁷ It also maintains that Brahman is both the material and the efficient cause of the world. As a spider gives rise to cobwebs and withdraws it in itself, so does Brahman in the case of the universe.⁸⁸ It creates the world and ultimately dissolves it within Itself.⁸⁹ Besides, the *Aitareya Upanisad* maintains that Atman alone existed before the creation and none existed before It and that It made up Its mind⁹⁰

to create the world and that It created it.⁹¹ Also in the *Taittiriya Upanisad*, there is an elaborate account of Brahman.⁹² The Upanisad suggests the process of Its realization and also points to the stages of Anna, Prana, Manas, Vijnana and Ananda as Its prototypes.⁹³ Finally, it is established that Ananda alone is Brahman and that the world has evolved out of It, and would be dissolved into It in the end.⁹⁴ The *Vedanta Sutra* also says⁹⁵ that the world has evolved out of Brahman, is sustained by It and will be dissolved into It in the end.⁹⁶

Kalidasa is fully acquainted with these characteristics of Brahman, as enunciated in the Upanisads.⁹⁷ The word, "Vedantesu", used by the poet in the benedictory stanza of *Malavikagnimitram*,⁹⁸ refers to the Upanisads. While eulogizing Visnu, Kalidasa puts in the mouth of gods the remark that it is Visnu Himself who creates, maintains and dissolves the world.⁹⁹ This statement reminds us of the statement of the *Taittiriya Upanisad*¹⁰⁰ in which Brahman is given the same status as Visnu by Kalidasa. In *Kumarasambhava* also, Brahma is eulogized in the same way—the functions of creating, sustaining and dissolving the world are ascribed to him.¹⁰¹ In *Raghuvamsha*, Visnu is characterised as "Ajara" and "Purana"¹⁰² in the same way as Brahman in the *Svetasvatara Upanisad*.¹⁰³ Kalidasa conceives Siva¹⁰⁴ in the manner he does Visnu—the creator, the sustainer and destroyer of the world.¹⁰⁵ Besides, in *Kumarasambhava* Kalidasa styles Brahman as "Kevalatman",¹⁰⁶ who creates, maintains and dissolves the world. This concept of "Kevalatman" is quite in keeping with the concept of Atman as we find in the *Aitareya Upanisad*.¹⁰⁷ In the same text, Kalidasa seems to follow the concept of Brahman, as we find in the *Svetasvatara Upanisad*.¹⁰⁸ It maintains that "Paramatman" Himself assumes the form of man and woman, bachelor and virgin, with a view to creating the world.¹⁰⁹ Further in the same text Kalidasa describes Brahma as *Yoni*—the main source, of the world,¹¹⁰ and thus follows the *Brahma Sutra*¹¹¹ and the *Mundakopanisad*.¹¹² Also in the same work Kalidasa identifies Visnu with the Himalaya.¹¹³ This idea seems to be based on the *Gita*¹¹⁴ in which Krsna identifies Himself with the Himalaya.¹¹⁵

There Krsna observes that He is the father, the mother and even the forefather of the world.¹¹⁶ Kalidasa also describes Brahma in the same manner and says that He is the father of fathers and the god of gods.¹¹⁷

UPANISADIC THOUGHTS OF THE GITA AND KALIDASA

In the *Gita*, Krsna maintains that He Himself is the Kratu, Yajna, Svaha, Ajya and Havya etc.¹¹⁸ Kalidasa, in the same way, identifies Brahma with the Havya, Hota, Bhojya, Bhokta, Vedyā and Vetta etc.¹¹⁹ The *Taittiriya Upanisad* maintains that Brahman is indescribable and beyond the reach of the mind and speech.¹²⁰ Kalidasa also describes Visnu as one whose nature is indescribable and who is unintelligible.¹²¹ According to the *Kathopanisad*, Brahman alone is the fundamental entity.¹²² It assumes several forms for the sake of creating the world.¹²³ This idea of the Upanisad is echoed in *Raghuvamsha* in which Visnu is said to be originally one, but assuming several forms in order to create the world.¹²⁴

In the *Gita*, Krsna says that He incarnates Himself with a view to protecting His devotees and to destroying the evil-doors.¹²⁵ Kalidasa holds the same view as to the incarnations of Visnu.¹²⁶ He says that Visnu incarnates Himself only with a view to favouring His devotees.¹²⁷ He further says that Visnu creates the world no doubt, but He keeps Himself detached from it. In the *Gita* Krsna says that He always takes care of the living beings, but keeps Himself absolutely detached from the world.¹²⁸ This idea is expressed in *Raghuvamsha*, wherein Visnu is referred to as one who takes enjoyment by means of His sense organs while practising austerities and maintaining the world, and in doing so He keeps Himself detached from the phenomenal world.¹²⁹ In this connection the epithet "Udasina"¹³⁰ is used by both the texts—the *Gita* and *Raghuvamsha*. Besides, in the XI chapter of the *Gita*, Arjuna says that as different streams of rivers go to the ocean, so people assembled in the battle-field enter into the mouth of Krsna.¹³¹ This idea is echoed in *Raghuvamsha*: Visnu is said to be the centre in which all the paths of salvation terminate in the same way as

do the different streams of Ganga in the ocean.¹³² In the *Gita*, Krsna suggests to Arjuna to dedicate his each and every work and its result to Him in order to get rid of its good or bad fruits.¹³³ *Raghuvamsa* expresses the same idea when it says that Visnu takes the entire responsibility of the well-being of those who dedicate their lives and deeds to Him.¹³⁴

Moreover there are some terms which are identical in the *Gita* and the works of Kalidasa. The use of these terms in the works of Kalidasa shows that he was well-versed in the text of the *Gita*. For instance, a line of the *Gita* : “*Nanavaptam avaptavyam varta evaca karmani*”¹³⁵, is quite identical to the following verse of *Raghuvamsa* :

‘*Anavaptam avaptavyam na te kincan vidyate*’.¹³⁶ In the same way, a line of the *Taittiriya Upanisad*; *Yato vaco nivartante aprapya manasa saha*,¹³⁷ is also quite akin to the line of *Raghuvamsa*— ‘*Mahimanam yaduktirya tava samhryate vacah*’.¹³⁸

In the *Gita*, Krsna characterizes “Bhakti” as the best means of attaining His proximity and salvation.¹³⁹ He maintains that one who is a true devotee of Him gets His favour undoubtedly.¹⁴⁰ This idea of the *Gita*, is reflected in a verse of *Malavikagnimitram* in which it is maintained that *Isvara* can be obtained by means of stable “Bhakti-yoga”.¹⁴¹

Thus, in our conclusion we may point out that Kalidasa was well-versed in the philosophical concepts of the *Gita* and the *Upanisads*.

MIMAMSA

Mimamsa school of Indian Philosophy lays much stress on the performance of sacrifices. According to the “Mimamsakas”, sacrifices are very essential for a person aspiring for heavenly bliss. In their opinion the aim of the Vedic texts is only to give guidance for the performance of sacrifices.¹⁴² They believe that it is only sacrifices which enable a person to go to the Heaven. Kalidasa also seems to have the same idea regarding the outcome of sacrifices. He says that a person who performs sacrifices goes to the Heaven.¹⁴³ In his opinion sacrifices are the staircase lead-

ing to the Heaven. In *Raghuvamsa* he makes Dilipa perform one hundred horse-sacrifices in order to attain the status of Indra.¹⁴⁴

Kalidasa is fully aware of different kinds of sacrifices.¹⁴⁵ In his view, there are some sacrifices which take a long time in their performance,¹⁴⁶ while others take a short time.¹⁴⁷ He even points out such sacrifices in which all the wealth of the Yajamana is to be offered to the priests in the form of "Daksina."¹⁴⁸ For instance, Raghu performs a sacrifice named—Visvajit, in which he offers all his royal assets to the priests and thus reduces himself to the state of a pauper.¹⁴⁹ Such sacrifices are elaborately discussed in the *Mimamsa Sutra*.¹⁵⁰ Kalidasa also refers to the motto of "Mimamsakas"¹⁵¹ in his *Raghuvamsa*.¹⁵² 'Mimamsakas' maintain that the word and its meaning are both concomitantly related with each other, "*Nityah Sabdartha sambandhah*."¹⁵³ Kalidasa endorses the same idea in his statement—"Vagarthaviva Samprktau"¹⁵⁴ while eulogizing Siva.

NYAYA & VAISESIKA

Kalidasa refers to this system in his *Abhijnana Sakuntalam*.¹⁵⁵ The epithet 'Sruti visaya-gunam', used for Akasa, is the popular concept of Nyaya Vaisesika system. According to the theory of Nyaya-Vaisesika, the sky has sound—*Sabda*, as its quality—*Sabda-gunakam Akasam*.¹⁵⁶ In this system, the sky and the "Sabda" both are concomitantly related with each other.

BUDDHISM

There appears to be no direct influence of Buddhism on the works of Kalidasa. However, in *Malavikagnimitram*, we have a reference to a Paribrajika who is perhaps a Buddhist Nun,¹⁵⁷ because she has dressed herself in 'kasaya-vastra'¹⁵⁸ in accordance with the practice of the Buddhist ascetics. Besides, the idea of her being a Buddhist Nun is evident also from the fact that Vedic rituals do not permit a woman to renounce the world in the way Paribrajika has done. Moreover she also utters the words—'Santam papam, Santam papam'¹⁵⁹—which are quite in tune with the Buddhist system of thought. Moreover, Kalidasa uses the word 'Nirvana' several times in his works.¹⁶⁰ The word 'Nirvana' is

the most popular term of Buddhist literature and it means, that which is blown out. One more reference to Buddhism is found in his *Kumarasambhava*,¹⁶¹ where he refers to the Yogic practices which were popular amongst Buddhists. Buddhism believes that only Yogic practices enable a person to attain the eternal bliss, the status of an 'Arhata.' Kalidasa also uses the word Arhata in the same sense.¹⁶²

JAINISM

Jainism also has no direct influence on the works of Kalidasa. In Jainism fasting is considered to be very essential for an aspirant of salvation. Kalidasa refers to this sort of fasting in his *Raghuvamsa*.¹⁶³ There Raghu, who was practising penance, resolved to observe fast until death, only with a view to getting rid of the worldly tormentations and enjoying eternal bliss after death.¹⁶⁴

Thus, from the above account, it is evident that Kalidasa was well-versed in all the six systems of Indian Philosophy, the Upanisadic literature and the *Gita*. So far as Buddhism and Jainism are concerned, we have already noted that they have no direct influence on his works. Still he seems to have thorough acquaintance with them too.

CHAPTER VIII

GRAMMAR

PANINI

Sanskrit Grammar has an ancient origin. The *Gopatha Brahmana* makes use of a certain grammatical terminology.¹ Panini himself mentions a number of Grammarians in his *Astadhyayi*.² The *Ramayana*³, the *Mahabharata*⁴ and the *Mundakopanisad*⁵ also have the antique touch of this science of language. But it is only the grammar of Panini that comes to us in an extremely refined and compact form. It is also more comprehensive than any other grammar of Sanskrit language. Kalidasa seems to be fully conversant with the grammar of Panini. He fully abides by the rules of it. A few instances are sufficient to make out this point.

DEFINITIONS

Sthani and Adesa

According to Panini an 'Adesa' takes the place of a 'Sthani' and retains its power causing total disappearance of the latter.⁶ Kalidasa seems to be fully acquainted with this technicality of the Paninian grammar. He refers to this rule in his *Raghuvamsa* where he describes how Sugriva was placed on the throne of Vali as an 'Adesa' is placed in the place of a "Dhatu" (Sthani).⁷ It seems that Kalidasa has deliberately used the word 'Dhatu' in order to show that Vali was completely dethroned and rooted out and Sugriva was fully enthroned. It follows then that Kalidasa has in mind that unlike other 'Sthanes' 'Dhatu' emphasises the total disappearance of the 'Sthani'. So an 'Adesa' of a 'Dhatu' totally displaces the 'Sthani'. For instance, in the place of 'In' comes 'Ga' as an 'Adesa' causing a total disappearance of the root 'In'.⁸ Similarly, 'Bhu' comes as an 'Adesa' in the place of 'As'.⁹ It is to be noted here that an 'Adesa' which replaces a 'Sthani', holds the same status as the 'Sthani'.¹⁰ It is in this sense that by using the word 'Dhatu' Kalidasa intends to suggest that Sugriva takes the whole charge of the kingdom of Vali causing a total dethronement of him.

Apavada & Utsarga

‘Apavada’ is an exceptional rule applicable in a few special cases of Sanskrit grammar. Its functioning is, to a certain extent, more limited than that of ‘Utsarga’. As ‘Apavada’ is used now and then, it delimits the common rule, ‘Utsarga’.¹¹ When there is a confrontation between ‘Apavada’ and ‘Utsarga’, ‘Apavada’ overpowers ‘Utsarga’ and works freely even in the range of ‘Utsarga’; but ‘Utsarga’ never does so.¹²

Kalidasa seems to have the same view regarding the characteristics of ‘Apavada’ and ‘Utsarga’. He says that the kings of the Raghu dynasty are so mighty and powerful that they overpower their enemies and uproot them in the same way as ‘Apavada’ overpowers ‘Utsarga’.¹³ He again says in *Raghuvamsa*, that Brahma asks gods whether they are overpowered by the demons as ‘Utsargas’ are overpowered by ‘Apavadas’.¹⁴ Thus, these instances from Kalidasa’s texts show his deep study of Panini’s grammar.

Prakrti and Pratyaya

According to the Sanskrit grammar, the ‘Prakrti’ and the ‘Pratyaya’ should be used together.¹⁵ Kalidasa seems to be aware of this rule. In his *Raghuvamsa*, he maintains that the ‘Prakrti’ is meaningful only when it is associated with the ‘Pratyaya’ or vice versa.¹⁶

FORMATION OF WORDS**Raghu**

Kalidasa was also well acquainted with the Paninian rules for the formation of words. For instance, in *Raghuvamsa*, Dilipa names his son as ‘Raghu’ after pondering over the meaning of the root *Raghi*—to go, because he wishes¹⁷ his son to go to the end of the Vedic knowledge and the end of the battles against his enemies.¹⁸

Adhyayana

It is a general rule of the Sanskrit grammar that a prefix, when added before a root, causes change in its original meaning.¹⁹ But, there are exceptions to this rule. For instance, Kalidasa refers to the root *In*—to read. The prefix ‘*Adhi*’ added before it, causes no change in its original meaning.²⁰ But, it does not mean

that the root alone can be used to denote its meaning. It always keeps 'Adhi' as its prefix to express its meaning.

Candra

Kalidasa has referred to the derivation of the word *Candra*,²¹ in this statement 'Yatha prahladnat *Candrah*'.²² Thus, he shows his acquaintance with the 'Dhatu Patha' of Panini, wherein the root 'Cadi' has been mentioned, from which the word '*Candra*' is derived.²³ He maintains that the moon is named '*Candra*' only because she pleases the people.²⁴

Tapana

Panini reads the root 'Tap' thrice to denote the threefold meaning of it.²⁵ In his 'Dhatu Patha' in 'Divadigana' he reads it for 'Aisvarya', in 'Bhavadigana' for 'Samtapa', and in 'Curadigana' for 'Daha'.²⁶ Kalidasa refers to this root in his *Raghuvamsa* and says that Raghu is like the sun owing to his valour—*Pratappat tapano yatha*.²⁷ Thus, it is evident that Kalidasa is fully conversant with the 'Dhatu Patha' of Panini and makes very appropriate use of it in his works.

Ksatra

Kalidasa refers to the formation of the word 'Ksatra'²⁸ from which the word 'Ksatriya' is derived. Here the suffix 'Gha' is added to the word 'Ksatra'²⁹ and then it (*Gha*) is transformed into '*Iya*'.³⁰ The word thus formed, means 'one who protects others'.

Satrughna

Kalidasa seems to refer to the derivation of the word Satrughna, when he gives the meaning of it as 'one who kills his enemies'.³¹ This is quite in accordance with the rules of the Sanskrit grammar.³²

Apart from these, Kalidasa also refers to the other rules of Panini in his works. For instance, the word 'Pitarau'³³ used by him, reminds us of the Sutra '*Pita-matra*' of the *Astadhyayi*, which makes the provision of '*Ekasesa*'.³⁴ Similary the term '*Vagarthaviva*'³⁵ reminds us of the Vartika—*Ivena samaso vibhakti alopasca*.³⁶ Besides, he is also acquainted with the optional uses of certain words, i. e. *Kosnam*,³⁷ *Kavosnam*³⁸ etc. Thus, from the above account, it is evident that Kalidasa is well versed in the

grammar of Panini. He has absorbed it so much so that it becomes his own.

PATANJALI

Relationship of word with meaning

According to the philosophy of grammar, both the word and its meaning are related with each other.³⁹ For instance, in 'Nilō Ghatah', *Nilah* is not different from 'Ghatah' and 'Ghatah' too is not different from *Nilah*. Similarly in 'Ajam Ghatah', the *Ghata* which is its meaning and the word '*Ghata*', both are one and the same. They are not different and therefore cannot be put separately. In this connection, Patanjali's 'Siddhe Sabdartha-sambandho'⁴⁰ suggests the same fact and reveals the close relationship of the word and its meaning.

Kalidasa seems to have the same view regarding the relationship of the word and its meaning. In the course of the eulogy of Siva, he has used the epithet 'Vagarthaviva samprktau'⁴¹ which means that Siva and Parvati are so inter-related with each other as the word is related with its meaning.⁴²

Division of words

According to Sanskrit Grammarians words are divided into four categories, i. e. 'Jati', 'Guna', 'Kriya' and 'Dravya'.⁴³ Some of them denote 'Jati', as Brahmanatva, some 'Guna' as Suklatva, some 'Kriya' as Paka and the rest 'Dravya' as 'Dittha', 'Davittha' etc. This division of words is elaborately discussed in the *Mahabhasya* of Patanjali.⁴⁴ Kalidasa seems to recognize this theory of division of words and thus seems to endorse the idea of Patanjali. He says that the convention of dividing words into four categories came into vogue when Brahma uttered the words from his four mouths.⁴⁵ In this connection he says thus; "Prayrttir asit sabdaram...caritartha catustayi",⁴⁶ which is quite identical to that of Patanjali—"Catustayi ca sabdanam pravrttih."⁴⁷ Thus we see how the aphorism of Patanjali is echoed in the words of Kalidasa.

From what we have said above, it is clear that Kalidasa is indebted to Panini to a great extent for the correct use of the words. It is also established beyond doubt that he follows Patanjali so far as the philosophy of words is concerned.

CHAPTER IX

A Y U R V E D A

KAUMARABHRTYA

Kaumarabhrtya, the first of the eight Tantras of the Ayurveda, is considered to be the most important. It deals with the treatment of a newly born child.¹ The *Kasyapa Samhita*, a very ancient treatise on child treatment, gives much importance to it.² The *Caraka Samhita*³ and the *Susruta Samhita*⁴ also attach much significance to this Tantra.

Kalidasa is well aware of the necessity of such physicians who are well-versed in the treatment of a newly born child and are at home in the art of making delivery quite peacefully and painlessly. In his *Raghuvamsa*, we find that the physicians, adept in the child treatment, are present and are performing their duties to make Sudaksina deliver her child painlessly.⁵ In this context, he has used the word 'Kumarabhrtya' which is evidently a technical term of the Ayurveda and it leads one to think that he was fully acquainted with Gynaecology, as we find in the Ayurveda.⁶

AGADA TANTRA

Agada-tantra is another important Tantra of the Ayurveda. It deals with the treatment of poison.⁷ Kalidasa seems to have been aware of both the categories of the poisons—'Sthavara' and 'Jamgama'.⁸ Among 'Jamgama' poisons, he takes much interest in describing the poison of snakes. He also describes the method of its cure.⁹ He also seems to be acquainted with the different species of snakes.¹⁰ He points out that a few snakes are very poisonous and even very dangerous when provoked or disturbed, while others are very humble and timid. He adds that coward snakes always try to hide themselves from the eyes of human beings in the day light.¹¹ Some of the species of snakes, as described by Kalidasa, have also been described similarly in the *Caraka Samhita*.¹²

Besides, Kalidasa shows his awareness of the fact that a snake changes its skin often.¹⁸ He thinks that snakes are completely helpless before the *Mantra Sakti*.¹⁹ He is fully convinced that snake-bite can be easily cured by the use of *Mantra*.²⁰ In this context, he suggests that the *Cheda* of the affected organ is the first step of the treatment.²¹ He further adds that *Cheda*, *Daha* and *Rakta-moksana*, are the best treatments of snake-bite.²² In his opinion *Visa-Vaidyas* are the best in the cure of snake-bite.²³

In this context, it is also interesting to note that Caraka suggests these treatments of snake-bite in the same specific way.²⁴ But Caraka makes certain other options too.²⁵ Likewise, Susruta, in the course of describing the treatment of snake-bite, adds that the affected organ of the victim should be knifed and burnt after giving an outlet to the poisoned blood.²⁶ Kalidasa seems to be more influenced by the text of Susruta. In this regard he prescribes the same treatment of snake-bite as does Susruta. Also both Kalidasa and Susruta use the same words,²⁷ *Cheda*, *Damsa*, *Daha* and *Rakta-moksana* etc., in their works.²⁸

KAYA-CIKITSA

The Ayurveda attaches much significance to this Tantra. It deals with the diseases of the human body and their treatments. While discussing the symptoms and treatments of diseases, Caraka suggests to a physician not to admit a patient who is in the grip of a fatal disease. He thinks that even an expert physician cannot save the patient whose vitality is already finished and the symptoms of death are clearly visible.²⁹ Susruta also endorses this idea of Caraka.³⁰ He suggests to a physician to diagnose the disease carefully before admitting a patient to his treatment.³¹

Kalidasa too has the same view in this respect. In his view, the life of a patient can be saved only when the days of his life are still remaining,³² and, if the patient has completely lost his vitality, he can, by no means, be made to survive.³³ Thus, Kalidasa means to say that a physician should not admit an incurable patient to his treatment.³⁴ According to Caraka, complete diagnosis of the disease is essential before starting the

treatment of a patient, and only then the treatment might prove satisfactory.²⁹ Kalidasa seems to be in agreement with Caraka in this respect. In his opinion, in the absence of thorough diagnosis, a treatment cannot prove effective.³⁰ Besides, Kalidasa very skilfully draws the picture of a poor patient. He says that a poor patient wants that the physician himself should provide him with medicines without charging anything from him.³¹

In the course of describing the virtues of a patient, Susruta maintains that he should be a rich man³² so that he might pay the charges of medicines. In case he is poor, he might ask the physician to treat him free of charge. In that case, the physician would find himself unable to continue his treatment. Kalidasa endorses this idea of Susruta. He maintains that a patient should be a rich man, otherwise he would ask for free treatment and create trouble to the physician.³³

DISEASES

Besides, we also find references to certain diseases in the works of Kalidasa. We shall discuss them hereafter.

Sannipata

According to the Ayurvedic texts, Vata, Pitta and Kapha are the factors responsible for keeping the normal health of a man. When the balance of these elements is disturbed abnormally, it creates a fatal disease called 'Sannipata'.³⁴ 'Sannipata' is considered to be an incurable disease. The *Kasyapa Samhita* maintains that 'Sannipata', at its malignant state, is too difficult to cure.³⁵ Kalidasa also holds the same view. He believes that 'Sannipata' is an incurable disease and that even powerful drugs prove ineffective in its cure.³⁶

Yaksma

Caraka determines excessive sexual intercourse as one of the root causes of this fatal disease.³⁷ He quotes the episode of the Moon. According to this episode, the Moon who was highly entangled in sexual intercourse with his wives, fell a prey to the disease 'Yaksma'.³⁸ Caraka, thus, seems to suggest that excessive sexual intercourse gives rise to this incurable disease.³⁹ Kalidasa holds the same view.⁴⁰ In his *Raghuvamsa*, we find that the king

Agnivarna indulges very often in sexual intercourse. As a result of it, he becomes a victim to this disease which takes his life.⁴¹ Besides, it is also significant to note that Kalidasa too mentions the episode of the Moon and thus seems to accept sexual intercourse as one of the major causes of Yaksma.⁴² Not only this, he also adds that the efforts of the physicians to cure Yaksma always fall flat.⁴³

Sun-Stroke

Caraka prescribes the use of sandal wood to cure sun-stroke.⁴⁴ Kalidasa refers to the same prescription in his *Abhijnana Sakuntalam*, when Sakuntala had some trouble and was suspected to be sun-striken.⁴⁵ He prescribes 'Darbhodaka' also in this connection.⁴⁶

Wound

Kalidasa suggests the use of the 'Ingudi' oil for healing a wound caused by the blades of the 'Kusa' grass.⁴⁷ According to him, Sakuntala used to apply it to heal the wounds of fawns.⁴⁸

Pankacchida

Kalidasa is acquainted with the herb 'Pankacchida'.⁴⁹ He maintains that it clears filthy water.⁵⁰ Susruta recognizes it as a purificatory herb and names it as 'Kataka'.⁵¹

SALYAPAHARTRIKA

This Tantra deals with the treatment of minor injuries, caused by arms, weapons and thorns etc.⁵² Kalidasa refers to this Tantra of the Ayurveda in his *Raghuvamsha*.⁵³ He refers to the word 'Salya' in this context.⁵⁴

SALAKYA

This Tantra deals particularly with the diseases of the upper portion of the body; eye, ear, mouth etc. Kalidasa says that the diseases of the upper portion of the body are very troublesome.⁵⁵ He refers to the pimples of the forehead.⁵⁶

BHUTAVIDYA

This Tantra deals with the 'Balikarma' which is considered to be very necessary for the satisfaction of Yaksas, Raksasas and

Pitrs.⁵⁷ Kalidasa endorses this idea when he says that hermits and hermit girls are in the habit of performing 'Bali-karma' daily.⁵⁸

Apart from these, he also points to certain general laws and practices of the Ayurveda. A few of them are discussed below.

Rajasvala

Different writers of the Ayurvedic texts are in agreement that a woman, during her menses, becomes untouchable.⁵⁹ Kalidasa also holds the same view in this connection.⁶⁰ He says that the woman should not be seen during her menses.⁶¹

Pregnancy

According to the texts of the Ayurveda, some symptoms of pregnancy are quite common in all women. For instance, their breasts become swollen, face grows pale, nipples become dark and their abdomen gets a bit larger and extended.⁶² Caraka,⁶³ Susruta⁶⁴ and Vrddha Jivaka,⁶⁵ all refer to these symptoms. Kalidasa points out these symptoms of a pregnant woman in his *Raghuyamsha* and *Malavikagnimitram*.⁶⁶ In his opinion the blackness of the nipples, the swelling of the breasts and the paleness of the face, are the main symptoms of a pregnant woman.⁶⁷

Dohada

Caraka⁶⁸ and Susruta⁶⁹ both lay much stress on the fulfilment of the wishes of the pregnant women. They are of the opinion that the wishes of the pregnant women are very important from the point of view of the well-being of the womb. They warn against the bad consequences if the wishes of the pregnant women are not fulfilled.⁷⁰ Caraka advocates that even unfavourable diet, mixed with the favourable one, should be served to fulfil the ardent desire of the pregnant woman so that the gas of her stomach may not create any disturbance in the body and, thus to the womb.⁷¹

Kalidasa is quite familiar with these ideas. He says that a person must take a sincere note of the wishes of a pregnant woman and try to fulfil them at a proper time.⁷² Apart from these general ideas, Kalidasa is aware even of the technicalities of the

Ayurveda. For instance, he names the cot of the *Prasuta* as—*Arista-sayya*.⁷³ According to the *Kasyapa Samhita*, *Arista* is a compound containing several germicides.⁷⁴ It adds that the smoke of this compound should be given to the cot of 'Prasuta' and her room so that it might kill the harmful germs. Most probably, it is on account of this fact that her cot is named as '*Arista-sayya*' by Kalidasa. Besides, in this context Caraka lays stress on the performance of certain ceremonies after conception and just after the birth of the child.⁷⁵ Kalidasa also refers to such ceremonies on such occasions.⁷⁶

Food

Vrddha Jivaka pleads in favour of taking food at the proper time. In his opinion, the food taken at the proper time, gives sufficient strength. It strengthens body and provides prowess to the organism. It creates the best sauce, is digested easily, and does not create any disturbance in the stomach.⁷⁷ Caraka also holds the same opinion in this connection.⁷⁸ Kalidasa seems to endorse the view of these physicians in this context in his *Malavikagnimitram*.⁷⁹

Light water

Caraka says that the water of the rivers flowing along stony and sandy places is very light and quite suitable for drinking.⁸⁰ Kalidasa also refers to the water of such rivers as very light and effective in removing the fatigue of the body.⁸¹ Besides, Caraka maintains that the star Agastya, when high in the sky, purifies the water, stored in the rainy season.⁸² In his opinion, this water is called '*Hamsodaka*'.⁸³ Kalidasa also gives the credit of purifying water to the star Agastya.⁸⁴ He frequently mentions this convention in his works.

Exercise

Caraka pleads for regular practice of exercises. He says that it makes one active and alert. Also it creates forbearance, removes diseases, keeps the digestive system in order and gives strength to the practitioner.⁸⁵ Kalidasa also holds the same view in this connection.⁸⁶ The same effects of the exercises are mentioned by the poet in *Abhijnana Sakuntalam*.⁸⁷

Useful herbs

Kalidasa mentions some useful herbs in his works.⁸⁸ The herb *Aparajita* was considered to protect a child from all evils when tied with its wrist.⁸⁹ In *Abhijnan Sakuntalam* the sage Marici tied it round the wrist of Bharata at the time of his birth ceremony.⁹⁰ And the condition was laid that it would change into a snake when touched by a person other than the parents of the child and would harm the offender.⁹¹

Susruta gives a detailed account of such useful herbs and recommends their use in one's daily life.⁹² Thus, Kalidasa seems to be quite conversant with such Ayurvedic texts which influenced him so much as to make him describe such herbs in his works.

From the above account, it is established that Kalidasa had been in close contact with the Ayurvedic texts. He read them thoroughly and absorbed them to such an extent that they found mention in his works as naturally as if they were his own creation.

CHAPTER X

D R A M A T U R G Y

Kalidasa's indebtedness to Bharata

DRAMA

The dramas of Kalidasa fulfil almost all the conditions laid down by Bharata, the most ancient law-giver and authority on the subject. According to Bharata the plot of a drama should be well known—*Prakhyata*, and the hero should be *Udatta*. He should come from a ruling dynasty and be patronized by heavenly agencies.¹ A drama must comprise of a number of basic as well as secondary scenes. The plot of a drama must also have as its ingredients five ‘Samdhis’, five ‘Karyavasthas’ and five ‘Artha-prakrtis’.² Besides, Bharata also mentions sixty-four other divisions and twenty-one subdivisions of ‘Samdhis’ with thirty-six dramatic embellishments.³ A critical study of the constituents of *Malavikagnimitram* will show how far Kalidasa bears the aphorisms of Bharata in his mind.

Malavikagnimitram

It is divided into five Acts. The plot is well known—*Prakhyata*. The Hero, Agnimitra, is *Dhirodatta*. The sentiment—*Rasa*, is *Sambhoga Srngara* with a slight intermixture of *Hasya*, *Karuna* and *Bhayana*.

The Drama opens with the benedictory stagza called ‘Nandi’,⁴ it is followed by ‘Prastavana’. The ‘Stradhara’, along with his other assistants, introduces the occasion of the enactment of the drama, its title and the author.⁵ ‘Prarocana’ and ‘Amukha’ are the main constituents of ‘Prastavana’. It ends with the ‘Amukhanganga’.⁶ The succeeding scene is called ‘Mixed-interlude’—“Misraviskambhaka.” It is enacted by two lower orders of character (Bakulavalika and Kumudika) and a middle character (Ganadasa). Then the Act I begins. It is followed by the Act II. Between the Act II & III, an introductory Scene, “Pravesaka” is inserted. It is staged by lower orders of character.⁸ After the IVth Act, an introductory scene is again prefixed to the Act V, where Ma-

dhukarika and Sagarika relate the event.⁹ The play then ends with usual Valedictory *Bharata-Vakya*.¹⁰ This whole arrangement of the drama is based on the *Natya-Sastra* of Bharata.¹⁰ In the opinion of Bharata, these factors are the main constituents of the drama and these should be invariably introduced in the drama.

As regards the five 'Samdhis' of the Drama, the 'Mukha' Samdhi commences with the word of Vidusaka '*Maya'pitat tatha krtam*' and extends to the end of the Act I. The 'Pratimukha' Samdhi begins with the Act II and extends as far Vidusaka's words '*Tathapi ghatayisyami*', which indicate the possibility of lovers' union. With the above words of Vidusaka the 'Garbha Samdhi' opens. It extends up to the acting of Vidusaka when he whispers '*Karne evam iti.*' These words indicate the certainty of the acquisition of the heroine. Here begins the 'Vimarsa' Samdhi which extends up to the entrance of the king with the words '*Kantam vicintya*' etc. The rest of the play consists of the 'Nirvana' Samdhi, which is the last of the 'Samdhis.'

These five 'Samdhis' are gradually developed with the help of five 'Karyavasthas' and five 'Arthaprakrtis' as it is evident from the text of '*Malavikagnimitram*'.¹¹

From what we have discussed above, it is evident that Kalidasa follows Bharata in the delineation of his dramatic art.¹² He introduces the same elements of drama as we find in Bharata. Apart from these, Kalidasa gives much attention to the conventional uses of Addresses, Languages, Stage-directions and Dramatic sentiments. He seems to bear the rulings of Bharata in his mind while making use of such things in his dramas.

ADDRESS

In the beginning of the dramas of Kalidasa, one meets the 'Sutradhara', 'Nati' or 'Pariparsvaka.' The 'Sutradhara' addresses his assistant as 'Marisa' while the latter calls him 'Bhava'. It is quite in keeping with the convention of Address as presented by Bharata.¹³ Bharata advises that individuals of equal status should call one another 'Vayasya'.¹⁴ He further maintains that the Vidusakas should also be addressed as 'Vayasya' by the

kings.¹⁶ We see in the dramas of Kalidasa that the kings, Dusyanta, Pururavas and Agnimitra, address their respective Vidusakas in the prescribed way. Bharata makes an option by allowing the kings to call their Vidusakas by their names too.¹⁶ Kalidasa also makes Dusyanta call his Vidusaka by his name,¹⁷ and thus takes the advantage of this option.

Among female characters of equal status the mode of Address is 'Hala'.¹⁸ The characters of lower order should be addressed 'Hanje' by the female characters of the high rank.¹⁹ Such references to addressing females are not wanting in the I, II & III Acts of *Abhijana Sakuntalam*. According to Bharata, a charioteer should always call the rider 'Ayusman'.²⁰ In *Abhijnana Sakuntalam*, Dusyanta is always addressed in the same way²¹. Bharata lays down that the king should be called 'Bharta' and 'Deva' by his subjects. But, as an exception, ascetics are allowed to call him 'Rajan'.²² Kalidasa makes use of the same in his dramas.²³ Besides, Bharata adds that the ascetics of high rank should be called 'Bhagawan'.²⁴ In *Abhijnana Sakuntalam* Dusyanta calls Marici 'Bhagawan' when he visits his hermitage.²⁵

LANGUAGE

Kalidasa always abides by the rules and regulations regarding the Language of the characters of his drama. He allows his characters to speak the same Language as prescribed by Bharata. According to the prescriptions of Bharata,²⁶ the characters of high rank and the hero should always speak Sanskrit, but as an exception to this rule, in certain circumstances, they can speak Prakrt.²⁷ Kalidasa takes the advantage of this option. In *Vikramorvasiyam*, love-stricken Pururavas, speaks Prakrt while roaming hither and thither in search of his beloved Urvasi, in the deranged state of his mind.²⁸

Bharata says that female characters should speak Sauraseni while talking with the heroine.²⁹ Bharata also opines that in certain cases female high characters may speak Magadhi.³⁰ In *Vikramorvasiyam*, we see the fellow nymphs of Urvasi, raising a voice of rescue in Magadhi, when attacked by the demon Kesin.³¹

In *Abhijnana Sakuntalam* also, Sakuntala exclaims for rescue in the same dialect, when teased by a honey-bee.³²

Besides, according to the aphorisms of Bharata, persons in general and those posted in the inner apartment of the king should speak Magadhi.³³ The interlude of the Act VI of *Abhijnana Sakuntalam* is the best instance where people of different tastes speak Magadhi.³⁴

Thus it is evident that Kalidasa abides faithfully by the rules and regulations regarding Language as laid down by Bharata.

STAGE DIRECTION

As regards the common Stage Directions, Kalidasa abides by them and gives them proper place in his dramas. But, to one's *uttar* amazement, he invents some new ones which are quite strange and unknown to the dramatic world. We come by such Stage Directions in *Vikramorvashiyam* Act IV. Among these, Carcari, Dvipadika, Kutilaka, Khandaka, Aksipta are very important. They, therefore, deserve a close examination.

Carcari

Prof. H. D. Velankar takes the word 'Carcari' in the sense of a certain type of dance. To quote him, "In any case 'Carcari' or 'Carcarika' must mean a dance, a musical dance".³⁵ Here he seems to be misguided by the writers who after Bharata use this word in different senses.³⁶ We find ourselves unable to agree with Prof. Velankar due to the following reasons :

1. In the Trotaka of Kalidasa, the expression '*Iti nartitva Carcari*',³⁷ indicates that 'Carcari' is something different from dance, and not dance itself.
2. A dance, particularly a musical dance, does not fit in the words, *Vicintya*, *Upasryta*, *Upavisyta*, *Avalokya* etc., which accompany the word 'Carcari' in the Trotaka of Kalidasa.³⁸
3. If the word 'Carcari' actually stands for a dance, it is difficult to understand why the poet has elsewhere used the words "*Iti nartitva*", "*Iti nartitva upasryta*" and "*Iti nartitva utthaya etc.*"³⁹ in this context.

4. The context of Pururava's movement clearly shows that he is not, of course, performing a classical dance, but is imitating only the movements of different objects.⁴⁰ Besides, with the derangement of his mind, Pururavas is put in a situation which excludes completely the possibility of his dancing in a uniform manner.⁴¹ Owing to the above reasons, it does not seem that the word 'Carcari' may signify some sort of dance or musical dance, as Prof. Velankar claims.

Carcari or Carcarika

Both the terms are frequently used in the Act IV of *Vikramorvasiyam*. 'Dvipadika' is always followed by 'Carcari' or vice versa. These Stage-directions are always connected with the movements of Pururavas, when he loiters hither and thither in a love-lorn state, in search of his beloved Urvashi. Most probably these Stage-directions are used in connection with his different movements. It will not be out of place to point out that the word 'Carcari' is derived from the root *Car*—to move, so its etymological meaning would be to move again and again in a particular posture.

We may also identify the word 'Carcari' with the term 'Cari', which Bharata mentions in his *Natya Sastra* in the sense of movement.⁴² Both the words, 'Carcari' and 'Cari', are derived from one and the same root *Car*—to move. According to Bharata, the word 'Cari' stands for a particular type of movement, done in a particular pose.⁴³ The word 'Carcari' also seems to be used for some type of movement. In support of this argument we may put forth the following points :

1. The word 'Carcari' is derived from the root *Car*—to move, as the word 'Cari' is.
2. The word 'Carcari' is followed or preceded by the term 'Dvipadika', which means a movement that covers the distance of two steps.
3. The word 'Carcari' is always preceded or followed by the expressions like, *Upasryta*, *Vicintya*, *Avalokya* etc., which indicate its association with certain type of movements.⁴⁴

In conclusion, therefore, the word 'Carcari' seems to be identical with the word 'Cari', the latter evidently standing for a certain type of movement. This idea is again supported by Bharata who maintains that the movement of a *Unmatta*, as that of Pururavas in the present case, should be marked with the frequent use of 'Cari' :

*Unmattasya apica kartavya gatisca niyatakrama.
Bahu Cari samayukta Loka nukaranasraya.*⁴⁶

So, it is established that the word 'Carcari' stands for a movement and not for a dance or musical dance.

Dvipadika

'Dvipadika' of Kalidasa seems to be identical with the 'Samapada Cari' of Bharata.⁴⁶ According to Bharata 'Samapada' stands for that sort of movement in which both the legs cover equal distance when advancing forward.⁴⁷ Kalidasa's word 'Dvipadika' evidently means the same.

Aksiptika

'Aksiptika' is considered to be an 'Akasacari'.⁴⁸ While defining it, Bharata maintains that it is a movement done in the sky quite close to the earth⁴⁹ with one foot onward and thigh in the *Svastika* pose.⁵⁰ Kalidasa seems to use this 'Akasacari' in the name of 'Aksiptika'. As the Akasacari it is, it is introduced by the poet at the place where two nymphs, Sahajanya and Citralekha arrive from the heavenly way. Thus, Kalidasa uses the Akasacari very appropriately at the time of the arrival of supernatural beings.

Khandaka

According to Bharata, 'Karana' is a sort of movement which covers two steps of distance.⁵¹ Repetition of several 'Karanas', is called 'Khanda'.⁵² Thus 'Khanda' is a sort of movement which covers a few steps of the distance.⁵³ Kalidasa seems to use this 'Khanda' in the name of 'Khandaka'. He also seems to use this term only to convey a sort of movement and nothing else.⁵⁴

From what we have discussed above, it is evident that Kalidasa is accustomed to add suffix 'Kan' in the technical terms

of Bharata. As we see, Aksiptika, Carcarika, Kutilaka, Khanda, Dvipadika, etc., have been used by the poet in place of Aksipta, Carcari, Kutila, Khanda and Dvipada etc. This change in the suffix on the part of Kalidasa is only a change done in the course of time and nothing else.

Besides, the origin of these Stage-directions may easily be traced in the 'Amgaharas' which are connected with different postures of the limbs.⁵⁵ Kalidasa has great love for these *Amgaharas*.⁵⁶ In *Kumarasambhava* he refers to the enactment of such Amgaharas.⁵⁸ In *Raghuyamsa* too, he refers to an 'Amgahara' named 'Alidhasthanaka',⁵⁹ prescribed for battle purpose alone.⁶⁰ Kalidasa has exercised this 'Amgahara' at the same occasion for which it is prescribed by Bharata.⁶¹

From the above analysis, it is evident that Kalidasa has used these technical terms in the same sense as Bharata has specified them. Apart from these similarities, Kalidasa pleads for the 'Natya', in his *Malavikagnimitram*, where two contestants of the *Natya Sastra*, Haradatta and Ganadasa, appear as two embodiments of the *Natya Sastra*.⁶² Here the verse of Kalidasa 'Natyam bhinnarucer janasya bahudhapi ekam samaradhanam',⁶³ bears a clear resemblance to the verse of Bharata, written in the appreciation of the *Natya Sastra* :

'Trailokasya asya sarvasya Natyam bhavanukirtanam'.⁶⁴

Besides, several technical terms of the *Natya Sastra* are frequently used by the poet in his drama *Malavikagnimitram*. For instance, Layamadhya,⁶⁵ Catuspada,⁶⁶ Catuspadavastu,⁶⁷ Nrtta,⁶⁸ Sakhayoni⁶⁹ and Abhinaya,⁷⁰ etc. Also, in *Vikramorvasiyam*, Kalidasa refers to the *drama* of Bharata, staged in the court of Indra, by Urvasi and others, and in which Urvasi committed a mistake and was cursed by Bharata.⁷¹

Thus from the above account, it is established that Kalidasa was fully acquainted with the text of Bharata. He had absorbed its dramatic art, made it his own, enriched it and ultimately gave a significant shape to it.

CHAPTER XI

EROTICS

Impact of Vatsyayana
on
Kalidasa

KAMASUTRA

The *Kamasutra* of Vatsyayana is a masterpiece on erotics. It has been the only source of later writers on erotics and allied subjects. Vatsyayana was a keen observer of human feelings and emotions. He peeped thoroughly through the phenomenon of human life. He looked into all the aspects of human activities. His description of human nature is so exact that it attracted his successors and got them tempted to follow him to a large extent. Kalidasa is one of them. He is very much influenced by Vatsyayana in his character portrayal. In order to appreciate it fully, we may discuss this aspect of his works in the sequel.

Characteristics of a Virgin

Vatsyayana opines that women are tender hearted. They should, therefore, be treated tenderly. This is true particularly in the case of virgins in their first meeting¹. He thinks that women are like flowers—“*Kusumasadharmano hi yositah.*”² So they should be treated as flowers. Kalidasa also holds the same view regarding the tenderness of women—*Asa-vandhah kusumasadrsam prayaso hyangananam.*³ It is to be noted here that the words *Kusumasadharmano* and *Kusuma sadrsam* used by both the writers are quite identical and are used to convey the same meaning.

Besides, the male characters of Kalidasa also are considerate enough to keep the delicacy of woman in their minds. For instance, Dusyanta, in his first meeting with Sakuntala, treats her very delicately and proceeds in his love affair gradually.⁴ In the same way, Siva, in his first meeting with Parvati, tackles her very delicately.⁵ This idea of treating woman tenderly, is again endorsed by the poet in *Raghuvamsa*—Aja enjoyed the earth very tenderly as a newly wedded girl.⁶ In his opinion, in hurry, newly wedded girls get annoyed—*Sahasodvegam iyam vrajediti.*⁷ It is interesting to note that Vatsyayana also gives the same account in this connection. He maintains that a newly wedded girl, when contacted suddenly, gets annoyed—*Sahasavapi upakranta Kanya...sadyo dvesam...gacchati.*⁸ Thus we see that both the writers use similar words in similar

contexts which convey the same meaning. Moreover, Kalidasa, while depicting the character of a virgin, suggests to a lover to tackle her very tenderly. In this context, he has used the word 'Sadayam'.⁹ It seems that Kalidasa always bears in his mind the popular saying of Vatsyayana—*Tasmat samnaiva upacareti iti.*¹⁰ It is also clear from the fact that Kalidasa always suggests to his male characters to seduce a girl delicately. Also, Vatsyayana maintains that a maiden, in her first meeting, never takes part in the conversation started by her lover, although she pays sincere attention to his talks—*natu laghumisram api vacam vadati.*¹¹ In *Abhijnana Sakuntalam*, Kalidasa makes Sakuntala act in the same way. Dusyanta himself says that she did not talk to him—*vacam na misrayati...madvacobhih,*¹² in her first meeting. Here the expressions of both the texts of Vatsyayana and Kalidasa respectively—*Laghumisram api vacam na vadati* and *Vacam na misrayati...madvacobhih*—are quite identical and denote the same specific meaning.¹³

Further, according to Vatsyayana, when the beloved is partly acquainted with her lover, she laughs under a pretext. She talks but does so under the pretext of others. She does not look at him face to face, but pays sincere attention to the words of her lover—*Sammukham tu na viksate,*¹⁴ *yat kimcit drstva vihasitam karoti,*¹⁵ *Tam antara kritva katham yojayet,*¹⁶ *Tasmin adhomukhi vihaset,*¹⁷ *Nayaka samkatham.. avahita tam srnoti.*¹⁸ We find these characteristics of a maiden working in the modest gaits of Sakuntala, as it is evident from the words of Dusyanta—Though, she mingles not her speech with my words, she listens to me attentively. When I am speaking, she does not stay looking at my face, no doubt, but she never keeps engaged her eyes with other objects for a long time¹⁹—

Vacam na misrayati yadyapi mad vacobhih,
Karnam dadati avahita mayi bhasamane.
Kamam na tisthati madanana sammukhi sa,
Bhuyistham anya-visaya na tu drstir asya.²⁰

Dusyanta further adds that, when face to face, she withdrew her glance and smiled as if it arose from some other cause :

*Abhimukhe mayi samhrtam iksitam, hasitamanya nimitta kathodayam.*²¹ In this context too, the words and expressions of both the writers are quite parallel and convey the same meaning.

Also, Vatsyayana suggests that a virgin should object to the remarks of her fellow girl friends to conceal the emotions of her love affair.²² Kalidasa also makes Sakuntala object to the remarks of Priyamvada in this connection.²³ In this context also, both writers use similar words—*Asambaddhapralapinim*,²⁴ *Atividnim*²⁵ to denote the same meaning. As an adept observer of woman psychology, Vatsyayana maintains that a virgin wants to keep the company of her lover as long as possible.²⁶ Kalidasa gives the same picture of Sakuntala in his *Abhijnana Sakuntalam*. While leaving the company of Dusyanta, she wants to remain before his eyes for a long time and delays her going under the pretext that her clothes are entangled in the branches of the tree.²⁷

Besides, Vatsyayana suggests to a virgin that she should show hesitation while offering herself in secret love. He advises her to express to her lover the fear of the guardians as an obstacle in her romance—*Gurujanad bhayam khyapayet*.²⁸ Kalidasa makes Sakuntala behave in the same way. When asked by Dusyanta for a secret love, Sakuntala expresses her complete dependence upon her guardians.²⁹ Here Dusyanta takes her into his confidence and says that she need not be afraid of her guardians and that they will certainly approve of her step—*Alam gurujana-bhayena*.³⁰ In this context, the expressions, *Gurujanad bhayam khyapayet*³¹ and *Alam gurujana bhayena*³² are quite identical in the texts of Vatsyayana and Kalidasa. Further, Vatsyayana warns a virgin that she must not allow her lover to enjoy her company in the first meeting. In case she is requested again and again, she may offer herself to her lover—*Nativivrtasrayam syat...*³³ Kalidasa makes Sakuntala act on this advice of Vatsyayana. Dusyanta, while commenting on the activities of Sakuntala, maintains that her love, being restricted by decorum, is neither revealed nor concealed—*Na madano vivrtah na ca samvrtah*.³⁴ In this context too, the term 'Vivrtah' used by both the writers, conveys the same meaning.

Vatsyayana also suggests to a virgin that she should select her husband after pondering over all ins and outs of the secret love. When fully satisfied, she should allow her lover to share her bed.³⁵ Kalidasa seems to have the same view in this respect. He suggests to a virgin that she should select her husband after having tested his veracity to her contentment.³⁶ Vatsyayana makes it further clear when he opines that a wise selection of a lover means a happy conjugal life.³⁷ In this connection, he maintains that man and woman both are attracted towards each other, but being tender-hearted it is woman who is attracted first and in the fullest extent, and it is because of this that he advises woman to make a wise selection.³⁸ This observation of Vatsyayana is fully followed by Kalidasa in the delineation of his heroes and heroines.³⁹ Apart from this, Vatsyayana makes a significant observation when he says that once a girl falls in love, never does she care for anything and never is she afraid of moral injunctions.⁴⁰ In the dramas of Kalidasa, the character of the heroines; Sakuntala, Malavika and Urvashi are sketched according to the above mentioned aphorisms.

STATE OF LOVERS DURING THEIR FIRST MEETING

Vatsyayana observes that during the first meeting both the lovers are subjected to hair stand and perspiration.⁴¹ Exactly the same state of things is presented by Kalidasa during the first meetings of Aja and Indumati and Siva and Parvati.⁴² Here it is interesting to note that both the writers use the word '*Svinnanguli*' in this context. Further, Vatsyayana suggests to a maiden that in such a meeting she should not start sexual activities from her own side. In case she is persuaded again and again by her lover for sexual contact, she may merrily cooperate with him in this affair.⁴³ In this context too Kalidasa seems to follow Vatsyayana while depicting the character of the heroines of his dramas, for he always makes them act according to the maxims of Vatsyayana.

GUIDE-LINES FOR A LOVER

Vatsyayana suggests to a lover that he should tackle a girl gradually with his tender behaviour so that she might not develop any idea of hatred but might rather surrender herself easily into

his hands.⁴⁴ Kalidasa follows him in this connection. In *Abhijna-na Sakuntalam*, Dusyanta proceeds with this psychological understanding and, at first, he inquires about the parentage of Sakuntala and then initiates a talk with her.⁴⁵ Vatsyayana further maintains that when a girl takes interest in talking, the lover should kiss her and touch her sensitive limbs.⁴⁶ But he warns that in the first meeting the lover should not be infused with amorous desires. In *Abhijna-na Sakuntalam*, Dusyanta acts in the same way. Dusyanta kisses Sakuntala in his first meeting no doubt, but he controls his amorous desires to a great extent and hopes to get them fulfilled in some future meeting.⁴⁷ However when a girl is considerably familiar, the lover is suggested to press different sensitive limbs of her body, particularly the breasts and the thighs in order to arouse sexual feeling in her.⁴⁸ In *Abhijna-na Sakuntalam*, Dusyanta looks for a similar opportunity. He asks Sakuntala to permit him to render her such a service when he meets her in the grove.⁴⁹ In this context Vatsyayana has used the term ‘Samvahana’ in the sense of squeezing the thighs of the girl.⁵⁰ Kalidasa also uses the same term in the same sense.

In this connection, Vatsyayana further adds that, in the course of time, when the girl becomes more experienced and takes interest in the activities of her lover, the lover is free to enjoy her according to his own sweet will and in all possible manners he likes. He also maintains that, in case both the lovers are a bit experienced and have tested each other, the lover may proceed with other activities for the purpose of arousing amorous feelings in her, i. e. loosening the girdle, untying the naval cloth and squeezing the thighs.⁵¹ In *Raghuvamsa*, Agnivarna engages himself in such amorous activities while meeting with his wives.⁵² In *Kumarasambhava*, Siva also proceeds with these activities in the first meeting with his consort Parvati.⁵³ Besides, Vatsyayana suggests to a lover to tell a tale to his beloved and try to note her response when engaged in amorous activities.⁵⁴ In *Kumarasambhava*, Siva seems to act accordingly. He tells a tale, while enjoying the company of Parvati, and also takes care to note her response.⁵⁵ Vatsyayana also suggests to a girl that, when asked by her husband to respond,

she should only shake her head and should not utter even a single word.⁵⁶ Kalidasa makes Parvati act in the same way.⁵⁷

Vatsyayana further opines that kissing and planting nailmarks intensify the conjugal love.⁵⁸ Kalidasa makes his male characters act in the same way. Even Lord Siva does not refrain from these amorous activities.⁵⁹ In the same way, Agnivarna, who leads an extremely amorous life, is fully accustomed to such activities.⁶⁰

EXTERNAL MEANS TO AROUS SEXUAL DESIRE

Embracing

Vatsyayana lays greater emphasis on embracing. He maintains that embracing plays an important role in love affairs. He prescribes different types of embracing for different occasions. For instance, at the time of physical contact, he suggests to exercise 'Tilatandulakam'. In his words; when both the lovers are lying in a single bed and are engaged more intensively in embracing with their arms and legs, it is called 'Tilatandulakam'⁶¹. Kalidasa seems to introduce this type of embrace in the context where Agnivarna, the last king of Raghu dynasty, is fully absorbed in amorous activities with his wives.⁶² Another type of embrace is also introduced by the poet in the same context: Agnivarna is ready to leave the bed at the break of the day, his queens, one by one, very intensively embrace him to their heart's content as if they are trying to get themselves mixed up with his body.⁶³ The type of embrace, referred to here, is the same as 'Vrksadhirudhakam' of Vatsyayana. Vatsyayana defines this type of embrace as follows :

"When a beloved tries to kiss her lover after putting one of her feet on the lover's foot and the other one on his thigh, with her one arm on his back and the other on his shoulders, it is called Vrksadhirudhakam."⁶⁴

Kissing

Kissing is considered to be a very important item in the game of co-habitation. Vatsyayana suggests to a lover to kiss his beloved to get her ready for sexual intercourse.⁶⁵ Kalidasa seems

to follow Vatsyayana in this regard. He provides the lovers in his works with sufficient chances of kissing their beloveds.⁶⁶ In *Sakuntalam*, Dusyanta regrets not to have been able to kiss Sakuntala although he lifts her face up for the purpose.⁶⁷

ROLE OF A CO-WIFE

Vatsyayana suggests to a co-wife that she must not tolerate the utterance of another woman's name by her lover.⁶⁸ In *Raghuvamsha*, when Agnivarna, indulges in sexual activities and utters the name of another woman before his beloveds in his inner apartment, he is objected to by his wives.⁶⁹ Here Kalidasa makes his wives act according to the suggestions of Vatsyayana. Besides, the word '*Gotra-Viskhalaṇa*' is used by both the writers in this context. Further, Vatsyayana gives an interesting suggestion to a co-wife to detain her husband from undesired activities by catching his hair.⁷⁰ In *Raghuvamsha*, we find how Agnivarna is detained by his wives in the same specific manner while going outside for a secret love.⁷¹ In this connection, Vatsyayana also suggests to a lover to soften the anger of his consort by bowing down to her feet when caught red-handed, while making love with another girl.⁷² Kalidasa makes the heroes of his dramas act in the same way in similar circumstances. Pururavas and Agnimitra both try to soften the angers of their consorts, by bowing down to their feet, when caught red-handed while making love with their beloveds.⁷³ In case a lover feels very much impatient and wants to meet the girl with whom he is in secret love, Vatsyayana suggests to him to see her under the pretext of seeing a friend.⁷⁴ In *Raghuvamsha* Kalidasa makes Agnivarna leave his harem under the same pretext for his secret love.⁷⁵ In this context, the term *Mitrakṛtyam apadisyā* is the same in the texts of Vatsyayana and Kalidasa and conveys similar meaning.

ROLE OF A HOUSE-WIFE

Vatsyayana suggests to a housewife that she should always serve her elders with great devotion.⁷⁶ She should not get engrossed in luxurious things and should be humane to her attendants: "Svasru svasura paricarya, bhogesu anutsekah, parijane daksin-

yam.⁷⁷ The suggestions of Vatsyayana are the same as those of Kanva, given to Sakuntala at the time of her departure to her husband's house. On this occasion Kanva says—"Thou shouldst always await upon thy superiors, shouldst be courteous towards thy attendants and be without arrogance in enjoyments—"Svrsusasva Gurun kuru.....bhuyistham bhava daksina parijane.....bhogesu anutsekini...etc."⁷⁸

Here, it is evident that the guidelines of both the texts, are the same and have been expressed in similar words.⁷⁹ Thus, Kalidasa seems to have borrowed the terms of the *Kamasutra*.

ROLE OF A LADY MESSENGER

In the *Duti-karma-prakarana* of his work, Vatsyayana lays much stress on the employment of a lady messenger.⁸⁰ He maintains that a lady messenger employed by a lover should try to note the hidden thoughts of the girl at first and then should bring home the most attractive image of the lover to her. She should also offer her the gifts sent by the lover.⁸¹ In *Malavikagnimitram*, Bakulavalika plays successfully the role of a lady messenger and tries her best to convince Malavika that king Agnimitra actually loves her.⁸² Kalidasa thus seems to write according to dictums of Vatsyayana who maintains that lady messengers play an important role in bringing the desired girl nearer the lover. The hero Agnimitra himself very joyfully stresses the need of a lady messenger for a lover. He says that the life of a lover depends completely on a lady messenger.⁸³

ROLE OF AN ASSISTANT IN LOVE AFFAIR

Vatsyayana advises the friends and assistants of the lovers to leave the couple alone when they are highly interested in the talks of each other.⁸⁴ Kalidasa makes his characters act in the same way. We find in *Abhijnana Sakuntalam*, Priyamvada and Anasuya giving such a fair chance to Dusyanta and Sakuntala under the pretext that they have to unite the fawn which has missed its mother.⁸⁵ A similar pretext is devised by Bakulavalika and the Vidusaka for the union of Malavika and Agnimitra in *Malavikagnimitram*.⁸⁶

Vidusaka

Vatsyayana says that when there is a love quarrel between two lovers, 'Vitas', 'Pithamardas' and 'Vidusakas' bring about a compromise.⁸⁷ Kalidasa makes the 'Vidusakas' of his play act in the same way. We see Vidusaka Gautama trying to humour the queen Iravati when she gets offended at seeing Malavika and Agnimitra meeting with each other.⁸⁸ Not only Gautama but Madhavya and Madavaka also serve their masters on such occasions.

CONCEPT OF MARRIAGE

In the opinion of Vatsyayana, love is the main objective behind marriage. A happy and peaceful conjugal life leads a couple to enjoy the fruits of life and the fruits of the heaven as well. On account of this fact, Vatsyayana seems to prefer Gandharva type of marriage, where love alone plays an important role in uniting two lovers.⁸⁹ Kalidasa also makes use of the same type of marriage in all his dramas and approves of this type with all his superb feelings of heart.⁹⁰

PRESENT

According to Vatsyayana a maiden should offer her ear ornament, ring or garland to her lover and accept all these things when offered by him.⁹¹ We see, in *Abhijnana Sakuntalam*, Kalidasa makes Dusyanta offer his ring to Sakuntala who unhesitatingly accepts it. Moreover, in the choice of his title *Abhijnana Sakuntalam* Kalidasa seems to have been inspired by the *Kamasutra* of Vatsyayana in which the word '*Abhijnana*' is frequently used in the same specific sense in which Kalidasa has used it in his drama.⁹² Apart from these, Kalidasa also has used some technical terms of the *Kamasutra* in the same sense in which they are used there. For instance, Citraphalaka,⁹³ Nagaraka,⁹⁴ Samudgaka,⁹⁵ Vartika,⁹⁶ Upaguhana,⁹⁷ Samvahana,⁹⁸ and Sadhayet,⁹⁹ etc. Besides, the root *Sadh*, to seduce, is frequently used by Vatsyayana in the context of seducing a girl.¹⁰⁰ Kalidasa also has used this root in the same sense.¹⁰¹

In this way, it may be concluded from the above account that the *Kamasutra* proved very helpful to Kalidasa. It may not be out of place to add that this book enabled him to give more psychological shape to his dramatic characters and the characters of his poems. Although the activities, depicted by Kalidasa, are somewhat instinctive and it is possible that he put these things quite independently, seeking no aid from the *Kamasutra*, yet, to my mind, instincts give only a general pattern to behaviour. Here we find Kalidasa agreeing with the *Kamasutra* not only in general remarks but also, strikingly enough, in some particular depictions as well as even in the use of common terms. So it seems to be safe to maintain that Kalidasa was fully acquainted with the relevant portions of the *Kamasutra* and that he used them freely in portraying the characters of his works.

Raghun. xiii. 9, 28-3²

CHAPTER XII

MISCELLANEOUS

Mantra and Tantra

Omen and Superstition

Music and Dance

MANTRA AND TANTRA

The traditional belief that Kalidasa was a staunch devotee of goddess Kali after whom he was named Kalidasa, is taken to be true by some scholars.¹ *Cidgagana Candrika*, a Tantric text ascribed to Kalidasa, reveals that Kalidasa was a staunch devotee of Kali.² On the basis of certain identical terms found in *Cidgagana Candrika* and *Malavikagnimitram*, the scholars like T.T. Swami hold the view that *Cidgagana Candrika* also has the authorship of Kalidasa.³

But this is too insufficient a proof to associate the name of Kalidasa with *Cidgagana Candrika*. However, it appears that he was closely acquainted with the Tantric school of his age. It seems that he learnt the secret thoughts of the Tantric school from its traditional *Gurus*. It is evident from his use of certain technical terms of the Tantric school in his *Malavikagnimitram*.⁴ For instance, in the context of the snake-bite, he uses two technical terms of the *Tantra Sastra* i. e. *Udakumbha-Vidhana*⁵ and *Sarpa-Mudra* or *Nagamudra*.⁶ In order to throw further light on this point we propose to discuss these two terms in detail.

Udakumbha-Vidhana

In the *Bhairava Tantra* the *Udakumbha-Vidhana* is discussed in a very interesting way. In this text, it is said that once Bhairavi asked Bhairava, "O' God of gods, protector of the world and well-wisher of living-beings, how can a mortal cure the poison of snakes"?⁷ Isvara said "Listen to me Goddess, I am telling you about the cure that has not been revealed to any mortal."⁸ He further added that by means of *Udakumbha-Vidhana*, one could cure the poison of snake.⁹ The Goddess then asked him the process of the '*Udakumbha-Vidhana*'. Isvara described it thus :

A neat and clean clay vessel should be taken. It should be encircled¹⁰ with a piece of thread, spun by a virgin. The inside of this vessel should be pasted with a 'Kalka,' prepared out of the mixing of 'Kosataki' etc., and the liquid of *Kumari* herb. The outside of the

vessel should be exposed to the smoke of 'Madhuka' etc.¹¹ Then this vessel should be filled with the water of a river, brought silently in a copper¹² vessel with the recitation of the following Mantra:

"Om namah purusa simhaya namo Narayanayaca, yatha asauna abhijanati rane Krsnah parabhavam, eten satyavakyena salilam ca amrtayatam."¹³

Then, with the recitation of the following *Mantra*, the vessel should be touchd while facing towards the north.¹⁴

"Namo vaidurya mate, hulu raksa mam sarpavisebhyah Gauri Gandhari Matangi Candali svaha. Anuru Anujaya Vinatanandanaya Kasyapaya Pakṣirajaya Narayana-vahanaya Amrtaharanaya, Om namo Garunaya, idam jalam amrta-rupam kuru kuru. Darvikaрадi akhila pannaganam visam samhara, om namo Narayanaya iti."¹⁵

After this, the powder of *Pippali* etc. should be poured into the vessel by a virgin who is required to take bath before doing it.¹⁶ Then the place of the snake-bite should be washed with the water of this vessel with the help of a brush, made of 'Surasa' etc. The washing of the affected place should be repeated one hundred times. While doing so the *Mantra*—*Anuru anujaya...etc.*, should be recited. The washing and the recitation should be continued till the erection of the hair.¹⁷

Isvara, then, claims that if the above process is followed, the snake-bite is certainly cured, no matter it may be a bite even by the *Taksaka* itself. This claim is followed by a further suggestion; the water of the vessel should also be poured on the head of the victim for saving him from sudden death.¹⁸ In the end *Isvara* claims that the *Udakumbha-Vidhana* cures all sorts of poisons of snakes.¹⁹

Sarpa-mudra (Naga-mudra)

The second term used by Kalidasa in the context of snake-bite is the 'Sarpa-mudra',²⁰ also known as *Naga-mudra*. This *Sarpa-mudra* or *Naga-mudra* is a technical term of the *Tantra Sastra* used in connection with the cure of snake-bite. In the *Rasaratnayali*, it is said that once a Brahmana asked the celebra-

ted Tantric Nagarjuna the way to remove the poison of snake.²¹ Nagarjuna told him that the *Nagamudra-vidhana* was the best way to cure the poison of snake.²² Nagarjuna then described *Nagamudra-Vidhana* thus :

A pala and a quarter of gold should be taken. It should be melted in fire and a snake should be made out of it. It should, then, be touched with the hands of the person who is operating this device upon the patient. While touching the gold snake, he should recite the following *mantra* thrice :²³

“Sri Nagasya pranah iha pranah, sri Nagasya jiva iha sthitah, sri nagasya sarvendriyani iha sthitani, sri nagasya van manah pranah ihayantu svaha.”²⁴

This is how, it is supposed, life is infused in the snake. This snake, then, should be worshipped and put into the mouth of *Udakumbha* which is encircled with a red thread.²⁵ Then a pot of copper filled with mustard seeds should be put with the right hand on the mouth of *Udakumbha*, while reciting the following *mantra*.²⁶

“Om plah sarvakuladhipataye sri nagaya amrtamurtaye hulu hulu sarpa-visar. samaya samaya namaste svaha.”²⁷

After reciting this *mantra* one hundred and eight times he should worship the *Nagamudra*, reciting the following *mantra* :

“Nagaraja namastubhyam garadosa-nivarhana, bhutesabhara-na srestha visam samhara te namah.”²⁸

After this, the snake should be taken out of the water of the vessel and then water of the vessel should be sprinkled on it. Nagarjuna claims that, if this process is followed faithfully, the effect of the snake-bite is cured.²⁹

Thus it is evident from the above account that the *Udakumbha-Vidhana* and the *Nagamudra-vidhana* are allied methods of removing snake-poison. Kalidasa has referred to these two methods to cure the snake-bite in his *Malavikagnimitram*.³⁰ It is, therefore, obvious that he must have been familiar with Tantric Texts which deal with these methods in detail.

OMEN AND SUPERSTITION

In the Vedic literature references to omen and superstition are found in abundance. In this connection, the *Rgveda*,³¹ the *Atharva Veda*,³² the *Sadvimsa Brahmana*,³³ the *Aitareya Aranyaka*³⁴, the *Kausitaki Grhya Sutra*³⁵ and the *Apastamba-grhya-sutra*³⁶ may be noted as the main sources. Omens are supposed to produce good or bad results according to their inherent nature. In Kalidasa we have several references to omens and superstitions. In the delineation of omen Kalidasa seems to be influenced by the *Ramayana* of Valmiki. In order to appreciate it fully let us discuss how Kalidasa has used the *Ramayana* in this connection.

Ramayana

In the *Aranya-kanda* of the *Ramayana*, we find the encircling of the sun in the sky as an indication of some immediate disaster.³⁷ In *Raghuvamsa*, Kalidasa also describes the encircling of the sun as a bad omen forecasting disaster.³⁸ Kalidasa also maintains that the *Dhumaketu*, when visible in the sky, creates disturbance in the whole world.³⁹ This idea of Kalidasa seems to be based on the *Ramayana* which says that the *Ulkapatas* are the sure signs of disaster.⁴⁰ It also maintains that the *Dhumaketu* when seen in the battle of Rama and Ravana, was considered to be the sure sign of the total destruction of the Raksasas.⁴¹ Besides, Kalidasa maintains that the *Sukra*, when face to face foretells ill for a man starting on a mission.⁴² This is also based on the *Ramayana* which maintains that the appearance of the *Sukra* behind a man starting on a mission, augurs well, whereas, when it is face to face it is ominous for him.⁴³ Kalidasa also mentions that the favourable wind on the way of a traveller is a good omen and is a sure sign of success of his works.⁴⁴ This too is based on the *Ramayana* in which it is maintained that the favourable wind on the way of traveller gives success to him.⁴⁵ On the other hand, Kalidasa mentions the unfavourable wind on the way of a traveller as a bad omen which brings failure to him.⁴⁶ This idea of Kalidasa seems to be based on the *Ramayana* which says that the unfavourable wind is a sign of failure in the work of a traveller.⁴⁷

In the *Yuddha Kanda*, when the armies of Raksasas started for the battle-field, these omens were visible on the way.⁴⁸

Apart from this, in Kalidasa showerings of water and flowers are considered to be good omens,⁴⁹ on the other hand, the showering of blood and dust is considered to be a bad omen.⁵⁰

In *Raghuvamsha*, we have such references to good and bad omens.⁵¹ Like others, these omens too are based on the *Ramayana*.⁵² In the *Yuddha Kanda*, when Ravana started for the battle-field, there was showering of blood on his chariot.⁵³ Further, Kalidasa seems to believe that clarity of directions is a good omen.⁵⁴ It also appears to be based on the *Ramayana*.⁵⁵ According to Kalidasa, cries of she-jackals particularly in the direction of the sun-rise, are bad omen.⁵⁶ This is based on the *Ramayana* which says that she-jackals began to cry in the direction in which Ravana was going to the battle-field.⁵⁷ Besides, Kalidasa maintains that throbbing of the right arm or thigh is a good omen for a man,⁵⁸ and bad for a woman.⁵⁹ On the other hand, throbbing of the left arm, eye or thigh is a good omen for a woman and bad for a man.⁶⁰ These omens, as described by Kalidasa, are found in the *Ramayana* at different places.⁶¹ Also, Kalidasa believes that falling of gem etc., from the head of a warrior forecasts his death in the battle.⁶² This belief of Kalidasa is also based on the *Ramayana* which says that the whip of the charioteer of Ravana fell on the ground several times when he started for battle-field—⁶³ in this battle Ravana was killed.

Thus it is evident from the above account that Kalidasa took the aid of the *Ramayana* while incorporating omens and superstitions in his works. These omens and superstitions might have been believed in his days, yet it seems quite probable that he must have had the descriptions of the *Ramayana* in his mind while describing these in his works, for the descriptions of these omens and superstitions in Kalidasa are similar to those of the *Ramayana* in details also.

MUSIC AND DANCE

Music

Kalidasa shows great interest in music. Both the branches of music, instrumental and vocal, have got their due place in his works. For instance, he refers to Turya,⁶⁴ Muraja,⁶⁵ Puskara⁶⁶ Vallaki,⁶⁷ Mrdanga⁶⁸ and Mardala,⁶⁹ etc., in his works. He frequently refers to Veena and Flute. In his *Meghadutam*, he refers to the combination of Flute, Muraja and vocal tunes.⁷⁰ Besides, he also approvingly refers to the vocal music in his works.⁷¹ In Act V of *Abhijnana Sakuntalam*, we have a fine description of vocal music and musical improvisation.⁷² There, king Dusyanta hearing the song of Hamsapadika, exclaims that the song is well-equipped with the *Ragas*.⁷³ Dusyanta thus shows his acquaintance with the song and its accompaniment with the *Ragas*. Not only the king, but also the Vidusaka reveals his knowledge of the *Svaras* and their association with the songs. His words '*Kala visuddhayah giteh svarasamyogah sruyate*' affirms the idea that he is well acquainted with the technicalities of vocal music.⁷⁴ Another statement of the Vidusaka, '*Jane tatrabhavati Hamsapadika varnaparicayam karoti*'⁷⁵ fully proves that the Vidusaka is well versed in vocal music.⁷⁶

Also, in *Kumarasambhava* Kalidasa refers to the practice of singing 'Kaisiki' tune for awakening a person early in the morning.⁷⁷ He also seems to be acquainted with the psychological effects of music on human beings.⁷⁸ It finds its reflection in the words of Dusyanta—'*ramyani viksyā madhuran sca nisamya sabdan... etc.*'⁷⁹ Besides, Kalidasa has very sensitive ears for musical notes of birds.⁸⁰ He describes in his *Raghuvamśa* how Dilipa and Sudaksina, when on the way to the hermitage of Vasistha, listen to the notes of peacocks.⁸¹ In *Malavikagnimitram*, he refers to several technical terms of vocal as well as instrumental music.⁸² In this context, the words—*Madhyama-svara*⁸³, *Mayuri*⁸⁴, *Marjana*⁸⁵, *Puskara*⁸⁶ etc., are significant from the musical viewpoint.

The technical terms used in *Malavikagnimitram* show Kalidasa's thorough acquaintance with the *Natya Sastra* of Bharata. It seems that the *Natya Sastra* influenced him to a

large extent in his depiction of the musical performances in his works. We would like to discuss in the following section as to what extent he is indebted to Bharata for his musical depictions.

Notes and Sentiments

According to Bharata, different sentiments—*Rasas*—are expressed by different notes—*Svaras*. He maintains that particularly two notes—*Madhyama* and *Pancama* are prescribed for—*Srngara* and *Hasya*.⁸⁷ The notes—*Sadja* and *Rshabha*, are prescribed for *Vira*, *Raudra* and *Adbhuta* sentiments.⁸⁸ Likewise the notes *Gandhara* and *Nisada* are prescribed for *Karuna*; and *Dhaiyata* for *Vibhatsa* and *Bhayana*ke sentiments.⁸⁹ These laws of the music are recognized by Kalidasa. In his *Kumarasambhava*, he says that the drama staged by nymphs on the occasion of the marriage ceremony of Parvati and Siva, was well-equipped with different sentiments with their appropriate notes.⁹⁰

Varna

Varnas are said to be the different stages of notes. Tunes attaining different pitches, high and low, are said to have the qualities of 'Varnas'. According to Bharata, 'Varnas' are of two kinds, each one of which is sub-divided into four.⁹¹ Among these sub-divisions, 'Udatta', 'Anudatta', 'Svarita' and 'Kampita' are said to be useful for dance purposes,⁹² and 'Arohi', 'Aavarohi', 'Sthayi' and 'Samcari' are useful for musical performances.⁹³ According to Bharata 'Arohi' is a 'Varna' with which note achieves the higher pitch, and 'Aavarohi' is that 'Varna' with which a note achieves its lower pitch.⁹⁴ When a note is balanced, without getting higher or lower pitch, it is called 'Sthayi'.⁹⁵ In his opinion, when a note is sung in both ways, it is called 'Samcari'.⁹⁶

Kalidasa is well acquainted with these technicalities of the vocal music. In his *Abhijnana Sakuntalam*, he refers to the improvisation of the *Varnas* by Hamspadika.⁹⁷

Laya (Tune)

Tunes are said to be of three kinds—*Druta*, *Vilambita* and *Madhya*.⁹⁸ Different tunes are prescribed for different sentiments. For instance, *Srngara* and *Hasya* sentiments are attuned by *Madhya*.

Karuna by *Vilambita* and *Vira, Raudra, Adbhuta, Bhayanaka* and *Vibhatsa* by *Druta*.⁹⁹ In the views of Bharata, tunes are essential for musical performances, particularly for the demarcation of different sentiments.

Kalidasa refers to the characteristics of the tunes in his *Malavikagnimitram* and adds that the tunes are essential for a quick realization of sentiments.¹⁰⁰

Murcchana

The *Arohas* and *Avarohas* of seven notes in their proper order, constitute the *Murcchanas*.¹⁰¹ According to the *Samgitaratnakara*, the combination of different notes makes a *Grama* while different *Gramas* make a *Murcchana*.¹⁰² Kalidasa refers to this technical term in his *Meghadutam*, wherein the wife of the Yaksa, while practising classical music and learning *Aroha* and *Avaroha* of different notes, forgets the *Murcchanas* already practised by her.¹⁰³

Marjana

According to Bharata, a particular type of tuning the 'Mrdanga' is called *Marjana*.¹⁰⁴ In his view *Marjana* is of three kinds—*Mayuri, Ardhamayuri* and *Karmaravi*.¹⁰⁵ Kalidasa refers to the term 'Mayuri' in his *Malavikagnimitram*. He also admits that the *Mayuri Marjana* is connected with the *Madhyama* note, as Bharata has specified it in his *Natya Sastra*. According to Kalidasa, the *Mayuri Marjana* intoxicates the minds of people—'*Mayuri Madayati Marjana Manansi*'.¹⁰⁶ Here Kalidasa shows his thorough acquaintance with the technicalities of classical music. He shows his awareness of the relation between the *Marjana* and *Notes*. Bharata maintains that three notes, *Gandhara, Sadja* and *Madhyama* are related with *Mayuri Marjana*.¹⁰⁷ Kalidasa Mentions only the *Madhyama* note as related with *Mayuri Marjana*.¹⁰⁸ It is interesting to note that it is only Bharata who mentions *Marjanas*. Later writers on music do not mention them in their works. Thus it is established that Kalidasa took his ideas of classical music from the *Natya Sastra* of Bharata.

DANCE

It is said that *Nrta*, *Gita* and *Vadya* constitute *Samgita*.¹⁰⁹ Among these constituents of *Samgita*, *Nrta*—Dance, is considered to be most important. It seems that in the days of Kalidasa dance was associated with the stage acting.¹¹⁰ In *Malavikagnimitram* Paribrajika, while judging the demonstration of Malavika and other contestants, gives an interesting account of the art of dancing in the following statement :

“The art of dancing consists, particularly, in the practical demonstration”.¹¹¹ In her opinion, the art of dancing is allied to that of acting. Kalidasa seems to take both of them as almost a single art, as is echoed in the words of Paribrajika quoted above.

Kalidasa seems to be acquainted with different modes of dances. He refers to some particular types of dances in his *Malavikagnimitram*.¹¹² Some of them are discussed below.

Pancangabhinaya

In *Malavikagnimitram*, the music teacher, Ganadasa claims to have taught Malavika the dance called ‘*Pancangabhinaya*’.¹¹³ This dance is called *Pancangabhinaya* which means that it is performed with the help of five limbs.¹¹⁴ The five limbs are; mind, eye, eye-brows, hand and feet.¹¹⁵

The famous commentator, Katayavema names *Pancangabhinaya* as *Prerana*.¹¹⁶

Calitam (Chalikam)

‘*Calitam*’ is a dance based on the ‘*Catuspada*’. Kalidasa maintains that it is very difficult to perform the dance ‘*Calitam*’.¹¹⁷ The following words of Paribrajika bring out correctly the salient features of the dance ‘*Calitam*’ :

“My Lord, they consider, the *Calitam* based on the ‘*Catuspada*’, as most difficult to be enacted”.¹¹⁸ Some think that *Calitam* (*Chalikam*) is a kind of dance in which the actor’s rhythmic movements and gestures express seductively the sentiments contained in the song that is sung at the time of the dancing.¹¹⁹ But

the commentator Katayavema defines '*Chalikam*' as a dance in which dancer, while acting the role of another person, gives expression to his own sentiments.¹²⁰ In this connection, Kalidasa refers to the name of Sarmistha who introduced the dance '*Calitam*' to the world of drama.¹²¹

After having considered music and dance in the work of Kalidasa, we can now say that he was fully acquainted with the technicalities of the classical music. We can also say that he had great love and respect for acting and dancing. In *Malavikagnimitram* he maintains that the art of dancing is a sacrificial ceremony dear to the eyes of gods.¹²² In his opinion, all kinds of emotions and feelings can be expressed through this art, it is also the main source of all sorts of entertainments of the people of different tastes.¹²³

Thus in the views of Kalidasa, dance is not a mere gesture of passing moods. It is rather the eloquent, though silent, expression of the whole body. In his opinion, in dance, there are several sentiments and '*Bhāvas*' which give pleasure to the spectators.¹²⁴ These observations of Kalidasa as to the utility and universality of dance as a part of the dramatic art, is keeping with those of Bharata who asserts that there is no such science, art or craft, knowledge or thought, which is not incorporated in the *Natya*.¹²⁵

Moreover, Kalidasa, in his *Vikramorvasiyam* refers to the art of dancing as taught by Bharata himself to celestial damsels.¹²⁶ He also refers to the drama '*Lakṣmi-svayamvara*' which had been staged by Urvasi and others in the heaven and where Urvasi committed a mistake and was cursed by Bharata.¹²⁷ So it is established that Kalidasa had been in close contact with the *Natya Sastra* of Bharata.

REFERENCE

BOOK I

SOURCE

CHAPTER I

Poem

- (1) 'Yasyeksvakurupavrate.....Rg. Ved. X. 60.4, 'Tva veda purvam IksvakoyamAth. Ved. XIX. 39.9.
- (2) 'Nasya Rama ucchistam pivot.....Tai. Ar. 5.8.13; Sat. Br. 4.6,1,7; Ait. Br. 7.26.34 ; Rg. Ved. X. 93.14.
- (3) Rg. Ved. I. 126.4.
- (4) Rg. Ved. I. 140. 4 ; Ath. Ved. XI, 3.12 ; Tai. Sam. 5.2.5 ; Mai. Sam. 3.2.4,5 ; Sat. Br. 13.8-9.6.7.
- (5) Vana Parva. 147. 28—38 ; Santi Parva 29. 40—55.
- (6) Visnu. Pu. IV 2—4 (Chapters). Va. Pu. 88. 191—200 ; Pad. Pu. Srsti. 37—40. Patal. 1—68 (Chapters) Bha. Pu. IX. 6—I2 (Chapters).
- (7) Jatakas ; Dasaratha, Anamakam and Dasaratha Kathanam etc.
- (8) cf. Padma. Uttar. 202. 2, 4, 5—16 & Ra. I. 11, 12, 31, 33, 34.
- (9) cf. Padma Uttar. 202. 17, 18, 19, 20 & Ra. I. 35, 36, 48, 53.
- (10) cf. padma Uttar. 202. 23, 24, 25 & Ra. I. 56, 57, 58.
- (11) cf. Padma. Uttar. 202. 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51 & Ra. I, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78.
- (12) cf Padma Uttar. 202. 52 & Ra. I. 81.
- (13) cf. Padma Uttar. 202. 53, 55, 56 & Ra. I. 82, 87, 88.
- (14) cf. Padma Uttar. 203. I & Ra. II. 1.
- (15) cf. Uttar. 203. 2—4 & Ra. II. 5—6.
- (16) cf. Padma Uttar. 203. 6—8 & Ra. II. 18—21.
- (17) cf. Padma Uttar. 203. 10—12 & Ra. II. 26—27.
- (18) cf. Padma Uttar. 203. 14—28 & Ra. II. 28, 30, 31, 33, 35—38, 40.
- (19) cf. Padma Uttar. 203. 29—80 & Ra. II. 41—44.
- (20) cf. Padma Uttar. 203. 36—42 & Ra. II. 45, 55, 60, 61, 62.
- (21) cf. Padma Uttar. 303. 43, 45, 48, 50 & Ra. II. 63, 64, 65, 66.
- (22) cf. Padma Uttar. 203. 58, 59 & Ra. II. 68.
- (23) cf. Padma Uttar. 203. 65 & Ra. II 69—70.
- (24) See foot-notes 8—23 of this chapter.
- (25) His. Dh. Sa. P. 893.
- (26) cf. Maha. I 73. 1.29. & Pad. Pu. Sakuntalopakhyanam, 28—47.
- (27) Padma. Srst. 52, 53, 62, 64 (Chapters) Svarga. 22, 24—30 ; 41, 44—49 ; Brahma. 11, 13, 15, 16, 20 (Chapters).
- (28) Uttar 40—81 (whole chapters) 129—190 (chapters).
- (29) Rama. I, 52, 53, 54 (chapters).
- (30) Ibid. I, 52—54.
- (31) Ibid. I, 52 ; 13, 14.
- (32) Ibid. I, 52 ; 15—19.
- (33) Ibid. I, 52 ; 22—23.
- (34) Ibid. I, 53 ; 1—5.
- (35) Ibid. I, 53 ; 8—9.
- (36) Ibid. I, 53 ; 10—15.
- (37) Ibid. I, 53 ; 16—25.
- (38) Ibid. I, 54 ; 1.
- (39) Ibid. I, 54, 2—8.
- (40) Ibid. I, 54 ; 10.
- (41) Ibid. I, 54 ; 16.

- (42) Ibid. I, 54 ; 17.
- (43) Ibid. I, 54 ; 18—19.
- (44) Ibid. I, 55 ; 6—8.
- (45) Ibid. I, 55 ; 10—12.
- (46) Ibid. VI, 58. 54—56.
- (47) Ibid. VI, 59 ; 94.
- (48) Ibid. VI, 59. 94.
- (49) Ibid. VI, 59. 95.
- (50) Ibid. VI, 59. 95.
- (51) Ibid. VI, 59. 97.
- (52) Ra. II, 35.
- (53) Ibid. II, 41.
- (54) Ibid. II, 52.
- (55) Ibid. II, 46.
- (56) Ibid. III.
- (57) Siva. Ru. Par. 6. 8—14.
- (58) Ra. IV. 24—26.
- (59) Maha. Sabha. 26. 7—9.
- (60) Ra. IV. 81.
- (61) Maha. Sabha. 27.2.
- (62) Ra. IV. 66.
- (63) Maha. Sabha. 27. 16.
- (64) Ra. IV. 78.
- (65) Maha. Sabha. 27. 21.
- (66) Ra. IV. 35.
- (67) Maha. Sabha. 30.26.
- (68) Ra. IV. 81.
- (69) Maha. Sabha. 31. 71.
- (70) Ra. IV. 38. 40.
- (71) Ibid. IV. 85.
- (72) Ibid. IV. 86.
- (73) Ibid. V. 1,
- (74) Ibid. V. 28.
- (75) Ibid. V. 29.
- (76) Ibid. V. 30.
- (77) Ibid. V. 34.
- (78) Ibid. V. 35—76.
- (79) Ibid. V. 42.
- (80) Ibid. V. 43. 48.
- (81) Ibid. V. 50.
- (82) Ibid. V. 51. 53.
- (83) Ibid. V. 55.
- (84) Ibid. V. 57.
- (85) Ibid. V. 60.

* Kathasaritsagara is a sanskrit version of the Brhatkatha of Guna-dhya, written around 1st century A.D.

Rama Sankar Tiwari. Mahakavi Kalidasa, P. 51.

- (86) Katha. Sa. Sa. II, 5, 21—27.
- (87) Ibid. II, 5, 21—27.
- (88) Ra. VI, 13—86.
- (89) Vana. 54—57.
- (90) Ibid. 54. 8.
- (91) Ibid. 54. 9.
- (92) Ibid. 54. 10—12.
- (93) Ibid. 55. (ch.).
- (94) Ibid. 57, 26—28.
- (95) Ibid. 57. 35—39.
- (96) Ra. VI. 20.

- (97) Maha. Van. 65. 73—75.
 (98) Ibid. 68. (chap.).
 (99) Ibid. 69. 24—25.
 (100) Ra. VII. 18—28.
 (101) See PP. 139—142 of this Book.
 (102) Ra. VII. 37—70.
 (103) Ibid. VIII. 43—69.
 (104) Rama. III. 61—63 (chapters)
 cf. Rama III. 61. & Ra. VIII. 43.
 (105) Ibid., Rama. III. 61—63 & Ra. VIII. 47.
 (106) cf. Rama. III. 62. I ; 61. 29 ; & Ra. VIII. 47.
 (108) cf. Rama. III. 61. 6 & Ra. VIII. 50.
 '109) cf. Rama. III. 61. 10 & Ra. VIII. 52.
 (110) cf. Rama. III. 62. 3—5, & Ra. VIII. 61—63.
 (111) cf. Rama. III. 61. 14, 18 : 63. 19 & Ra. VIII. 79—90.
 (112) cf. Rama. III. 63. 20—25, 35, 36, 50 ; 64, 4, 15, 53, 54, 57 & Ra, IX. 48, 53, 72, 73, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 81.
 (113) cf. Rama. I. 14, 59 ; I. 15. 2 ; I. 15, 16 ; I. 15, 18, 24, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31 ; I. 16, 10, 11, 14, 15, 18, 19, 31 ; I. 18. 9, 10, 13—14 ; & Ra. X. 4, 5, 39, 44, 50—52, 58, 66, 67, 70, 71.
 (114) cf. Rama. I. 18, 38—39 ; I. 19, 8, 9 ; 1. 22. 3, 6, 13 ; I. 26. 6, 8, 26 ; I. 27 2, 3 ; I. 29. 3 ; I. 30. 17, 23 & Ra. XI. 1, 2, 5, 7, 9, 15, 19, 21, 22, 28, 29.
 (115) cf. Rama. I. 31. 6, 7 ; I. 49. 16 ; I. 67. 16 ; I. 67. 23 ; I. 68. 1 ; I. 69. 7, 8 ; I. 73. 26, 30, 31, 32, 33 ; I. 74. 9, 17 ; I. 75. 27, 28 ; I. 76. 5, 6, 7 ; & Ra. XI. 32, 34, 45, 47, 49, 52, 53, 54, 61, 64, 66, 81, 84.
 (116) cf. Rama. II. 2. 12, 26, 27 ; II. 63. 5 ; II. 64. 66 ; II. 112. 22 ; II. 115. 2 ; & Ra. XII. 2, 6, 10, 17.
 (117) cf. Rama. V. 38, 22, 27, 29, 35 & Ra. XII. 22, 23,
 (118) cf. Rama. III. 17. 6, 9 ; III. 18. 21, 26 ; III. 26. 15 ; III. 30. 27 ; & Ra. XII. 32, 34, 40, 42, 46, 47.
 (119) cf. Rama. III. 42. 15 ; III. 49. 16 ; III. 51. 43 ; 67. 15 ; III. 73. 1 ; IV. 5. 11 ; 16. 36 ; 28. 1 ; & Ra. XII. 53, 55, 57, 58.
 (120) cf. Rama. V. 1. 29 ; V. 17, 28 ; V. 38. 66 ; V. 54. 30 ; V. 65. 8, 9 ; V. 66. 1 ; VI. 4. 21 ; VI. 22. 65 ; VI. 42. 41 ; VI. 44. 39 ; VI. 50. 52 ; VI. 73. 73 ; VI. 90. 73 ; VI. 69. 170 ; VI. 102. 12 ; VI. 108. 18, 19 ; & Ra. XII. 60—65, 67, 70, 72, 76, 77, 78, 79, 81, 84, 97, 99 ;
 (121) cf. Rama. VI. 123. 15, 16, 42, 47, 48, 51, 54, 46, 40, 52, 53, 55 ; VI. 127. 39, 42 & Ra. XIII. 22, 36, 41, 45, 47 ; XIII. 30, 33, 37, 63, 68.
 (122) Rama. VI. 128. 48, 53 ; VI. 127. 63 ; VII. 43. 18 ; VII. 42. 33, 35 ; VII. 43. 4 ; VII. 45. 12, 16, 17, 18 ; VII. 46. 33, 47, 13, 48, 2, 18, 17 ; VII. 49. 9, 10, 12, 14 & Ra. XIV. 7, 8, 20, 28, 29, 32, 44, 47, 52, 53, 56, 70, 72.
 (123) cf. Rama. VII. 60. 4, 5, 15 ; 61. 14 ; 62. 19 ; 65. 2 ; 66. 1 ; 69. 37 ; & Ra. XV. 2, 5, 6, 11, 13, 17, 24.
 (124) cf. Rama. VII. 73. 2 ; 75. 14 ; 76. 3 ; 76. 2 ; 76. 4 ; 76. 20, 47 ; & Ra. XV. 42, 49, 50, 51, 55.
 (125) cf. Rama. VII. 93. 1, 5, 13 ; 95. 4, 5 ; 97. 15, 17, 18, 19, 20 ; & Ra. XV. 63, 69, 81, 82, 83, 84.
 (126) cf. Rama. VII. 103. 1 ; 13, 14 ; 105. 1, 2, 6, 9 ; 106. 15 ; 110. 12, 22, 23, 24 ; & Ra. XV. 92, 93, 94, 95, 103, 100.
 (127) See 112—126 numbers of the foot-note.
 (128) Ra. XVI. 25.
 (129) Ibid. XVI. 25.
 (130) Ibid. XVI. 71—72.
 (131) Ibid. XVI. 80.
 (132) Ibid. XVI. 77.
 (133) Ibid. XVI. 79.

- (134) Ibid. XVI. 85, 87.
 (135) Ibid. XVI, 87.
 (136) Ibid. XVII. 42, 47—53, 56—63, 68—70.
 (137) Ibid. XVII. 80.
 (138) Ibid. XVII. 80.
 (139) Ibid. XVIII. 1—81.
 (140) IV. 4, 105—108.
 (141) Ra. XVIII. 5.
 (142) Visnu. IV. 4, 106.
 (143) Ibid. IV. 4, 106.
 (144) Ra. XVIII. 17, 20.
 (145) Ibid. XVIII. 27, 28.
 (146) Visnu. iV. 4, 108.
 (147) Ibid. IV, 4, 107.
 (148) Ra. XVIII. 33.
 (149) Ibid. XIX. 4.
 (150) Ibid. 48—53.
 (151) See chapter XI of this Book
 (152) Ra. XIX. 55—57.
 (153) Bal. Ka. III. 9.
 (154) I. 36, 37. (chapters).
 (155) Vana Parva 225—231 (chapters).
 (156) Svet. Up. chapter III.
 (157) Siva. Rudra. Sam. Par. Khan. Kumar Khan. & Yuddha Khan. etc.
 Matsya 154—160 (chapters), Varaha 22 ; Brhad-dharma 33—53
 Vamana 50—58 ; Brahma Vai. Ganapati Khan. I ; Visnudharmottar
 228. Brah. Upodghat Pada 10 ; Br. Gautam Mahatmaya 23 ; Vayu.
 Sraddha Kalpa 11 ; Skan. Avantya Khan. 39 ; Nagar Khan. Hat.
 Mahatmaya 245—247 and 264.
 (158) Visvesvar Sam. Rudra. Sata Rudra. Koti Rudra. Uma and Kailasa
 Samhitas.
 (159) cf. Ku. I. 1 & Siva Rudra. Par. Khan. I. 14, 16 ;
 Ku. I. 18—20 & Siva. Ru. Par. Khan. I. 21—27 ; V. 45—47 ;
 Ku. I. 21—22 ; & Siva Par. VI. 2 ; VI. 5 ;
 Ku. I. 25—26 ; & Siva. Par. VII. 14, 16, 17 ;
 nu. I. 27—30 & Siva. Par. VII. 18—24 ;
 Ku. I. 39—40 & Siva Par. XII. 8—9 ;
 Ku. I. 50 & Siva. Par. VIII. 8, 11 ;
 Ku. I. 54, 58, 59, 60 & Siva. Par. XI. 3, 4, 6, 10 ; XIII. 32, 38, 40.
 160) cf. Ku. II. 1, 31—34 & Siva. Par. XV. 36 ; XVI. 1, 5, 6, 7, 9 ;
 Ku. rr. 48, 49, 55, 57, 59, 60, 62, 64 & Siva. Par. XVI. 18, 19, 21, 22,
 26, 28, 30 ;
 Ku. III. 3, 4, 9, 10, 12, 15, 17 & Siva. Par. XVII. 4, 19, 21, 24, 9, 15,
 30, 34, 38 ;
 Ku. III. 23, 26, 452, 57 ; & Siva. Par. XVII. 4 3 XVIII. 1—4 ; 21 ;
 Ku. III. 64, 69, 70, 71, 73, 75 & Siva. Par. XVIII. 25, 27 ; XIX. 4,
 6, 7, 8, 11, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20.
 (161) cf. Ku. IV. & Siva. Par. XIX. 21—28.
 (162) cf. Ku. V. 1, 3, 4, 7 & Siva. Par. XXI. 13 ; XXII. 17, 18 20, 22 27 ;
 Ku. V. 8, 28, 30, 31, 40, 41 & Siva. Par. XXII. 28, 30, 49 ; XXVI 2, 6,
 10 ; Ku. V. 51, 53, 64, 67, 69, 72, 73, 77, 79, 82, 84, 86 ; & Siva. Par.
 XXVI. 31, 32, 33, 35, 37 ;XXVII. 2, 3, 11, 14, 25, 27, 28, 30, 32, 34, 36,
 38 ; XXVIII. 5—7, 21, 22, 36, 40, 41, 44.
 (163) cf. Ku. VI. 3, 4, 27, 29, 36, 47, 52, 53, 62, 78, 85, 86, 94 & Siva. Par.
 XXXII. 8, 10, 26, 28, 34, 36, 43, 56, 65 ; XXXIII. 1, 2, 19 ; XXXVI.
 12, 27.
 (164) cf. Ku. VII. 56—62 ; & Siva. Par. XXXXV. 25—32.
 (165) See pp. 139—142 of this book.

- (166) See chapter XI of this Book.
- (167) cf. foot-notes 159—164 of this chapter.
- (168) Pu. Vi. P. 105.
- (169) Vayaviya Samhita II. 23—32 (chapters).
- (170) Pu. Vi. PP. 104—105.
- (171) Vidyesvar Sam. I. 22 (chapter).
- (172) Ibid. I. 24 (chapter).
- (173) Ibid. I. 25 (chapter).
- (174) Rama. I. 36.
- (175) Ibid. I. 37. 1.
- (176) Ibid. I. 37. 7.
- (177) Ibid. I. 37. 8.
- (178) Ibid. I. 37. 10.
- (179) Ibid. I. 37. 11.
- (180) Ibid. I. 37. 14.
- (181) Ibid. I. 37. 15—16.
- (182) Ibid. I. 37. 17.
- (183) Ibid. I. 37. 18.
- (184) Ibid. I. 37. 23.
- (185) Ibid. I. 37. 24—25.
- (186) See PP. 118—119 of this book.
- (187) Rama. IV. 20, 21, 23 (chapters).
- (188) Ibid. IV. 20, 21, 23 (chapters).
- (189) Ibid. IV. 20—22.
- (190) Ibid. IV. 23. 7.
- (191) Ibid. IV. 23. 8.
- (192) Ibid. IV. 23. 10—11.
- (193) Ibid. IV. 21 (chapter).
- (194) Ku. IV. 5.
- (195) Ibid. IV. 22.
- (196) Ibid. IV. 29.
- (197) Rama. VII. 17 (chapter).
- (198) Ibid. VII. 17. 1.
- (199) Ibid. VII. 17. 2—3.
- (200) Ibid. VII. 17. 6—7.
- (201) Ibid. VII. 17. 4.
- (202) Ibid. VII. 17. 16.
- (203) Ibid. VII. 17. 8.
- (204) Ibid. VII. 17. 18.
- (205) Ku. V. 41, 44—50.
- (206) Ibid. V. 64.
- (207) V. 64.
- (208) I. 37. 31.
- (209) See foot-notes 159—164 of this chapter.

CHAPTER II

Drama

- (1) 'Padma Purana khatha'. 1.
Quoted by T. E. Srinivasacharya, Abhijnana Sakuntalam, (Madras-1)
1950.
Appendix, A. P. XXIII.
- (2) Ibid. 2.
- (3) Ibid. 3.
- (4) Ibid. 5.

- (5) Ibid. 6.
- (6) Ibid. 7, 8.
- (7) Ibid. 9.
- (8) Ibid. 9.
- (9) Ibid. 10.
- (10) Ibid. 11, 12.
- (11) Ibid. 13, 14.
- (12) Ibid. 15, 16.
- (13) Ibid. 17.
- (14) Ibid. 18, 19.
- (15) Ibid. 20.
- (16) Ibid. 21—23.
- (17) Ibid. 24—25.
- (18) Ibid. 25—26.
- (19) Ibid. 26—27.
- (20) Ibid. 28—31.
- (21) Ibid. 32.
- (22) Ibid. 33.
- (23) Ibid. 34.
- (24) Ibid. 35.
- (25) Ibid. 37, 38.
- (26) Ibid. 38.
- (27) Ibid. 39, 40.
- (28) Ibid. 41—42.
- (29) Ibid. 43.
- (30) Ibid. 44, 45, 46.
- (31) Ibid. 47.
- (32) Ibid. 48, 49.
- (33) Ibid. 51—54.
- (34) Ibid. 55, 56.
- (35) Ibid. 57—59.
- (36) Ibid. 60—61.
- (37) Ibid. 62—68.
- (38) Ibid. 69—73.
- (39) Ibid. 74—75.
- (40) Ibid. 76—79.
- (41) Ibid. 80.
- (42) Ibid. 81—82.
- (43) Ibid. 83.
- (44) Ibid. 84.
- (45) Ibid. 85—87.
- (46) Ibid. 88—90.
- (47) Ibid. 91—92.
- (48) Ibid. 94—96.
- (49) Ibid. 97—98.
- (50) Ibid. 99—100.
- (51) Ibid. 101—103.
- (52) Ibid. 103—104.
- (53) Ibid. 105—117.
- (54) Ibid. 120—123.
- (55) Ibid. 125—129.
- (56) Ibid. 130—134.
- (57) Ibid. 136—140.
- (58) Ibid. 141—145.
- (59) Ibid. 145—148.
- (60) Ibid. 149—153.
- (61) Ibid. 154—157.
- (62) Ibid. 165—167.

- (63) Ibid. 168—170.
 (64) Ibid. 172—174.
 (65) His. of Dh. Sa. p. 893.
 (66) cf. Maha. I. 73. 1—29 & Padma. Svarga, khan. chapter 1—5.
 (67) Srsti. khan. 52, 53, 62—64; Svarga, khan. 22, 24—30; 41—49 Brahma khan. 11, 13, 15 (chapters).
 (68) See pp. 20—21 of this Book.
 (69) Maha. I. 68.2; 69, 3, 4; 70, 1, 2, 32, 33, 35; 71.1.
 (70) Ibid. I.71.2—9.
 (71) Ibid. I.71.10—17.
 (72) Ibid. I.71.18—42.
 (73) Ibid. I.72.1—3, 7—9.
 (74) Ibid. I.72.10—16.
 (75) Ibid. I.73—1, 4.
 (76) Ibid. I.73.5—7.14.
 (77) Ibid. I.73.16—20.
 (78) Ibid. I.73.21—23.
 (79) Ibid. I.73.24—29.
 (80) Ibid. I.74.1.3.
 (81) Ibid. I.74.1.3.
 (82) Ibid. I.74.7—12.
 (83) Ibid. I.74.13—15.
 (84) Ibid. I.74.16—20.
 (85) Ibid. I. 74, 21, 24, 25, 26, 34, 36.
 (86) Ibid. I. 74. 36—72.
 (87) Ibid. I. 73—77.81.
 (88) Ibid. I. 74. 82—107.
 (89) Ibid. I. 74. 109, 111—113.
 (90) Ibid. I. 74. 111—120.
 (91) Ibid. I. 74. 121—126.
 (92) Jataka No. 7.
 (93) Rama V. 36. 2. 3.
 (94) Kam. Su. V. 4. 36.
 (95) Ibid. III. 3, 30.
 (96) 'Abhijnana' Kam. Su. VI. 4, 34; 67.4.30.
 (97) Rg. Ved. X.95; Sat. Br. V. 1—2; Brihaddevata VII. 140—147 Sarv. on Rg. Ved X. 95. Rama. VII. 56 (chap). Hari. I.26.13, 39; Visnu. IV. 6, 34—94; Vayu. Uttar. 29—1—15; Padma. Srsti. XII. 52—86 Matsya. 24.10—32; Agni. 275. 12—14; Davi. Bha. I. 13, 7—33; Brahm. III. 66. 1—19; Bha. IX. 14; Visn. Dh. I. 129—137; Kath. Sa.Sa. III. 4—30. Though the conditions are to be inferred in the Vedic hymn, but in the Brahmana version these are discussed elaborately.
 (98) Rgved. X. 95.
 (99) Sat. Br. V. 12.
 (100) Ibid V. 12.
 (101) Br. Dev. VII. 140—147 & Sarv. on the Rgved X. 95.
 (102) VII. 140—147.
 (103) Sarvanukramani on the Rgved X. 95.
 (104) Ka. Sa. Sa. III.4—30.
 (105) Ibid. III, 3.4—30.
 (106) Hari. Va.I.26.1—49.
 (107) Ibid. 1.26.1—49.
 (108) Matsya, 24.10—32.
 (109) Ibid. 24.10—32.
 (110) Visnu. Pu. IV. 6. 34—94 : Vayu Pv. Uttar. XXIX. 1—45. Brahma. III. 66. 1—19.
 (111) Matsya. 24.10—32. Padma—Srst. XII. 52—86.
 (112) Ibid. 24.10—32. Padma—Srst. XII. 52—86.

- (113) cf. Matsya. 24.10—32 & Padma—Srst. XII. 52—86.
 (114) Hi.Dh.Sa. p. 893.
 (115) Matsya. 24.—32.
 (116) Ibid. 24.10—32.
 (117) Hi. Dh. Sa. p. 852.
 (118) Ibid. P. 893.
 (119) Matsya. 53.14; 290.19.
 (120) Ibid. 24.31.
 (121) Ibid. 24.33—34.
 (122) Ibid. 24.18—19.
 (123) Ibid. 24.33—34.
 (124) Vik. V. 23.
 (125) Rama. VII. 56 (chapter)
 (126) Rama VII. 56. 13—29.
 (127) In the words of Citralekha;
 “Kim nu khalu tasya *Rajarseh* Pururavasah sakasam pratisthitasi”
 Vik.p.104; “Pratisthanasya sikhabharanabutasya tasya *Rajarseh*
 bhavanam upasthitesvah”. Vik. p. 106.
 “Ratisahayam *Rajarsim*”. p. 180.
 “*Rajarsimahisi* drsyate”. p. 156.
 In the words of the disciple of Bharata;
 “Tasya me Ranasahayasya *Rajarseh*”. p. 138.
 In the words of Sahajanya ;
 “Atha kim avasthah sa *Rajarsih*”. p. 182. etc.
 In the words of Tapasi;
 “Anakhyate’pi vijnate eva *Rajarseh* Ayusascaaurasah sambandhah”
 p. 230.
 (128) Rama. VII. 56. 25.
 (129) In the words of Cetii;
 “Ajnaptasmi Devya *Kasirajaduhitrya*”. Vik. p. 82.
 In the words of Vidusaka;
 “Nipunike vijnapaya mama vacanena *Kasirajaduhitaram*”. Vik.
 p. 86.
 In the words of Kancuki;
 “Adistosmi saniyamaya *Kaisirajaduhitrya*”. Vik. p. 140.
 “Tatrabhavati *Kasirajaduhita*” Vik. P. 90.
 (130) Rama. VII. 56. 25.
 (131) Matsya, 24. 33—34.
 (132) Rama. VII. 56. 27.
 (133) Ibid. VII. 56. 29.
 (134) Vik. P. 214.
 (135) Ibid. P. 182.
 (136) Rama. VII. 87. (Chapter).
 (137) Ibid. VII. 87. 15—16.
 (138) Ibid. 90. (Chapter).
 (139) Ibid. VII. 56. 25.
 (140) H. C. Ray, Chaudhari (Ind. Cu.III . P. 739) thinks that the name of
 the family was Baimbika. He, in his support draws attention towards
 a verse in *Malavikagnimitram* (IV. 14) where Agnimitra calls himself
 Baimbika.
 (141) Khanda. I.
 (142) Parisista.
 (143) IV. I. 117.
 (144) B. S. Upadhyaya ‘Pracina Bharata Ka Itihasa’ p. 165.
 (145) ‘Dvirasvamedhayaji’ Inscription of Ayodhya ‘Epigraphic Indica ’ 20
 (April 1929 pp. 54—58).
 (146) B.S. Upadhyaya “Pracina Bharata Ka Itihasa” P. 165.
 (147) Ibid. P. 165.

- (148) 'Pusyamitro yajate' 'Iha Pusyamitram yajayamah'.
Maha. Bhasya. on pani. III. 2. 123.
- (149) Matsya. 273, 26. (36 Years).
- (150) Divyavadana P. 433 (Cowell).
- (151) Hi. of Dh. Sa. P. 828.
- (152) W.W. Tarn 'The Greeks in Bactria and India' P. 132.
- (153) Maha. Bhas. III. 2. 111.
- (154) Vayu. 99. 338.
- (155) Visnu. IV. 24 & 39 (Chapters).
- (156) Ibid. IV. 24 & 39 (Chapters).
- (157) Matsya 273. 25—31.
- (158) Vayu. 99. 338.
- (159) Brahm. 73. 3.
- (160) Bha. XII. I. 16—18.
- (161) Ka. Sa. Sa. II, 6, 67—72.
- (162) Mal. P. 14.
- (163) Ka. Sa. Sa. II. 6. 67.
- (164) cf. Mal. PP. 184. 185; Ka. Sa. Sa. II. 6. 70—71.
- (165) Ka. Sa. Sa. II. 6. 69, & Mal. P. 144
- (166) Mal. P. 144. Ka. Sa. Sa. II. 6. 72.
- (167) Mal. P. 198; Ka. Sa. Sa. II. 6. 72.
- (168) Mal. Act. II.
- (169) Na. Sa. Chapter I.

CHAPTER III

Lyrics

- (1) Rgveda. I. 12, 1, 8; I. 36, 3, 5; I. 44, 2, 9, 11; I. 58, 1; I. 60, 1; I. 72, 7; I. 74, 4; I. 161, 4; I. 171; II. 6, 6, 7; II. 39, 1; III. 5. 2; III. 5, 9; IV. 7, 9, 11; IV. 9, 2; IV. 33, 1; V. 8. 6; V. 21. 3; V. 43. 8; VI. 8. 4; VI. 16. 6, 23; VI. 63, 1; VII. 2, 3; VII. 3, 1; VII. 3, 3; VII. 10. 2, 5; VII. 11, 3; VIII. 19. 21; VIII. 29. 3, 9; VIII. 44. 10; X. 8, 5; X. 14, 13; X. 110. 1; 4th. Veda. VIII. 8. 10 etc.
Sa. Br. III, 5, 1, 6;
Kausitaki Up. II. 1;
- (2) "Deval Kapota. X. 165. I.—5.
- (3) Ibid. X. 165.
- (4) Ibid. X. 165. 4.
- (5) 1—11.
- (6) 17—19.
- (7) 53. 27—32 & 57 (Chapter).
- (8) Bha. X. 46 (Chapter).
- (9) Ibid. X. 90 (Chapter).
- (10) 'Meghah srimans tvamasi dayito Yadavendrasya nunam.
Srivatsankham vayam iva bhavan dhyayati premavaddhah.
Atyutkanthah sabala hrdayo' smad vidho vas padharah.
Smrtva smrtva visrijati muhuh duhkhadas tat prasangah. Ibid.X.90.20
- (11) Ibid. X. 90. 20.
- (12) Kam. Su. I. 5. 35—36.
- (13) Ibid. I. 5. 35—36.
- (14) Ghata Karpara.
- (15) Kam. Vilap. Kalanduka, Kuttanl, Maha-Ummaga.
- (16) Kamavilapa No. 297.
- (17) Ibid. No. 297.
- (18) Kalanduk No. 127.
- (19) Ibid. No. 127.

- (20) Kuttani. No. 343.
 (21) Maha Ummaga. No. 546.
 (22) Yo. Va. Uttararddha 119. 1—6.
 (23) cf. Yo. Va. 630. 119, 4; 'Yo esa sikhare Megha smarasva iva samyutah' & Megh. I. 2; 'Megham aslista-sanum'.
 Yo. Va. 630. 119. 4. 'Vidyullata-vilasinya valito rasikah sthitah' & Megh. II. 40 'Vidyudgarbhah' & Megh. II. 58 'Mabhudevam Ksanam api ca te vidyuta vprayogah'.
 Yo. Va. 630. 119. 5 'Bhratar Megha mahendra capam ucitam vyalambya kanthe gunam.
Nicair gaccha muhurtakam kuru dayam : a vasapurneksana. Bala balamrnala komalatanus tani na sodhum ksama. Tam gatva Sugate galajjalalvaih avasaya atmanilaih. & Megh. II. 40;
Tam uththaya svajala-kanika sitalenanlenia.
Pratyavastam samam abhinavaih jalakaih Malatinam. Vidyudgarbhah stimitayanenam tvat senathe gavakse. Vaktum dhirah stanitavacanaih Maninim prakaramethah;
 Yo. Va. 630. 119. 6;
Citta-tuliko ya vyomni likhitva alingita sati. Na Jane kva adhunaivetah payoda dayita gata & Megh. II. 47;
Tvam alikhya pranaya kupitam dhaturagaih silayam. etc.
- (24) J.N. Furquhar holds the opinion that it is a work written around 1300 A.D. and 400 A.D. "Religious lectures of India." p. 228; Prof. S.P. Bhattacharya is of the opinion that it is a work written between 1000 A.D. to 1200 A.D. "The proceedings of the Madras oriental Conference" p. 545.
 German scholar Winter Nitsze thinks it to be the treatise of 800 A.D. "Geschichte der Indischen Literature" Vol-III. p. 444. Dr. B.L. Atreya "Vasistha Darsanam"—"The probable date of composition of 'Yoga Vasistha'. p. 18
- (25) cf. Yo. Va. 52. 36 and Gita II 20;
 Yo. Va. 52. 37 and Gita II. 19;
 Yo. Va. 53. 2; and Gita XVIII. 17;
 Yo. Va. 53. 5 and Gita III. 7;
 Yo. Va. 53. 9 and Gita V. 11;
 Yoga. Va. 53. 12 and Gita XII. 13;
 Yoga. Va. 53. 16 and Gita II. 48;
 Yo. Va. 53. 34 and Gita IX. 34;
 Yo. Va. 53. 43—44 and Gita VI. 29, 31;
 Yo. Va. 54. 1 and Gita X. 1;
 Yo. Va. 54. 2 and Gita II. 14;
 Yo. Va. 54. 4, 7 and Gita II. 15;
 Yo. Va. 54. 22 and Gita IX. 27;
 Yo. Va. IX. 25 and Gita IV. 18;
 Yo. Va. 54. 26 and Gita II. 47—48.
 Yo. Va. 54. 33 and Gita IV. 19;
 Yo. Va. 54. 36 and Gita III. 6.
 Yo. Va. 54. 37 and Gita III. 7.
 Yo. Va. 54. 38 and Gita II. 70;
 Yo. Va. 55. 12 and Gita II. 16;
 Yo. Va. 55. 13 and Gita II. 17;
 Yo. Va. 55. 14 and Gita II. 18;
 Yo. Va. 55. 19 and Gita VII. 4;
 Yo. Va. 56. 7 and Gita II. 58; etc.
- (26) Rama. V. 1. 15.
 (27) Ibid. V. 1. 54.

- (28) Ibid. VI. 64.
 (29) Ibid. VI. 73.
 (30) Ibid. VI. 77.
 (31) Ibid. VI. 100.
 (32) Ibid. VI. 161.
 (33) Ibid. VI. 167.
 (34) Ibid. VI. 191.
 (35) Megh. I. 1.
 (36) Ibid. II. 40.
 (37) Ibid. II. 40.
 (38) 'Ayam sa kalah sampraptah samayo'dya jalagamah.
 Sampasya tvam nabho Meghaih sambhrtam girisannibhaih. Rama.
 IV. 28. 2.
 (39) 'Asadhasya' prathama-divase megham aslista-sanum'. Megh. I. 2.
 (40) Rama. IV. 28, 2.
 (41) Megh. I. 2.
 (42) Susubhe sa mahateja Mahakayo mahakapih.
 Vayumarge niralambe paksayan iva parvatah. Rama. V. 1. 76.
 (43) Adreh srngam harati pavanah kim svid iti unmukhibhih. Megh I. 14.
 V. 7. 6.
 (45) Megh. I. 31.
 (46) V. 15, 19.
 (47) II. 31.
 (48) 'Praspadantaikam nayanam sukesyah minahatam padmam iva abhitamram'. V. 29, 2.
 (49) Megh. II. 35.
 (50) V. 16. 30.
 (51) Megh. II. 22.
 (52) V. 16, 30.
 (53) Megh. II. 22.
 (54) IV. 28, 23.
 (55) Megh. I. 10.
 (56) IV. 28. 7.
 (57) Megh. I. 12.
 (58) IV. 28. 22.
 (59) Megh. I. 13.
 (60) V. 1. 167.
 (61) Ri. Sam. I—6.
 (62) Rama. III. 16 (Ch.) IV. 28 (Ch.) IV. 30. 1—63.
 (63) Visnu. V. 10. 2—16.
 (64) Caraka. I. 6. 6—50.
 (65) Rama. IV. 28 (Ch.).
 (66) Ibid. IV. 30 (Ch.).
 (67) Ibid. III. 16 (Ch.).
 (68) Visnu. V. 10. 2—16.

CHAPTER IV

Myths

- (1) Ra. I. 68.
 (2) Ibid. I. 68.
 (3) Br. II. 15. 3; 19. 150; 21. 102; 106 & 155; III. 7. 294; IV. 2. 194; Visnu.
 II. 4. 94; 8. 82. 3; Matsya 122(Ch.) Bha. V. 20. 34—42.
 (4) Br. II. 15. 3; 19. 150; 21. 102; 136 & 155; III. 7. 294; IV. 2. 194; Visnu.
 II. 4. 94; 81. 82. 3; Matsya. 122(Ch.) Bha. V. 20. 34—42.

- (5) Parena Puskarasya atha avrttya avasthito mahan svadudakah Samudrastu sa samantad avestayat. Svadudakasya paritah Sailamtu parimandalah Prakasasca aprakasasca Lokalokas sa ucyate'. Mastya 122(Ch.).
- (6) II. 4. 94; 8. 82. 2.
- (7) cf. Ra. I. 68 & Matsya 122(Ch.).
- (8) Ra. I. 68.
- (9) Matsya 122(Ch.).
- (10) Ibid. 122(Ch.).
- (11) Vayu. LIX. 142—148.
- (12) Ra. I. 14 & Ku. I. 2,
- (13) Ra. I. 14.
- (14) Ku. I. 2.
- (15) Ibid. I. 2.
- (16) Ibid. I. 2.
- (17) Ku. IV. 72; Ra. XVIII. 26. Ku. II. 2—3.
- (18) Maha. II. 15—16, 42—51; 17. 19, 34. 84; 21. 28—34; III. 7. 194, 258, 61. 24; 63. 35; 66. 7; Visnu. II. I. 20—22; 2. 39—41. 8. 19; V. 1. 12; 66; 38. 72; Matsya II. 23; 10. 26; Br. II. 36. 223.
- (19) Visnu. II. i. 20—20; 2, 39—41; 8, 19; V. 1, 12; —66. 37—38.
- (20) Matsya 2. 23; 10. 26;
- (21) II. 36. 223.
- (22) Ku. I. 21.
- (23) Ra. 2. 72.
- (24) Ibid. III. 33.
- (25) Ibid. III. 33.
- (26) Ibid. V. 16
- (27) XIX. 48.
- (28) Sak. IV. 2; Yatyekato astasikharam patir osadhinam'.
- (29) Maha. I. 65, 75; II. 12; 5. 13; IX. 43; X. 208.
- (30) Padma. Srs. XII. Skand. Nagar. 86; Bha. IV. 1; 15. 33.
- (31) Br. III. 65. 1—20.
- (32) Ibid. III. 65. 1—20.
- (33) Matsya 4. 49; 23. 4—15; 198. 1.
- (34) Maha. I. 65; I. 75; 2. 12; 5. 13; IX. 43; X. 208.
- (35) Ibid. I. 65; I. 75; 2. 12; 5. 13, IX. 43; X. 208.
- (36) Br. II. 23; 39; 69, 723.
- (37) Ra. II. 50.
- (38) Rama. I. 39—40.
- (39) Maha. III. 107.
- (40) Visnu. IV. 4. 16—22; Br. 52. 53 (Chapters)
- (41) Rama. I. 39—40.
- (42) Maha. III. 107.
- (43) Ibid. III. 107.
- (44) Visnu. IV. 4. 16—22.
- (45) Ibid. IV. 4. 16—22.
- (46) Rama. I. 39—40.
- (47) Maha. III. .107.
- (48) Maha III. 107, Rama. I. 39—40.
- (49) Ra. III. 50.
- (50) IV. 4. 16—22.
- (51) Ra. VI. 38.
- (52) Ibid. 39—40.
- (53) Ibid. 39—40.
- (54) Ra. XI. 74.
- (55) Rama. VII. 31—32 (Chapters) 33. 16—17.
- (56) Rama VII. 31—32 (Chapters).
- (57) Maha. III. 116.
- (58) Rama. VII 31—32 (Chapters)

- (59) Maha. III. 116.
 (60) Br. III. 30, 4, 75; 69, 2; 49, 56; Visnu. IV. 11. 11—21; Matsya. 43, 15; Vayu. 94. 10—54.
 (61) Bha. IX. 15. 20.
 (62) Bha. IX. 15. 21—22; Br. 33. 50; Matsya. 43. 37—40.
 (63) Bha. IX. 15. 23—26.
 (64) Ibid. IX. 15. 27—36.
 (65) Matsya. 43. 13—25.
 (66) Ibid. 43. 25—43; Vayu. 95. 4—24.
 (67) Br. III. 26. 7; Chapters 27, 28, 30. 4; III. 30. 5—15; 32. 61; 38. 8. 27; 40. 19; 41. 37—38; 44. 14; 47. 63, 88.
 (68) Visnu. IV. 11. 11—20.
 (69) Ibid. IV. 11. 11—20.
 (70) Ibid. IV. 11. 11—20.
 (71) Ibid. IV. 11. 11—20.
 (72) Ibid. IV. 11. 11—20.
- The *Bhagavata*, the *Vayu* and *Matsya* Puranas seem to follow the *Visnu Purana* as to Kartaviryra episode. We see a verse of the *Visnu Purana* is repeated in the same way in these Puranas;
*'Na nunam Kartaviryasya gatim yasyanti manayah,
 Yajnaih Danaih Tapobhisca Vikramena srutena va'*.
 Visnu. IV. 11. 16; Vayu. 94. 20; Matsya. 43. 24; Bha. IX. 23. 35.
- (73) Ra. VI. 61.
 (74) Ibid. VI. 61.
 (75) Ibid. XIII. 36.
 (76) Ibid. XIII. 36.
 (77) Rama III. 11. 85.
 (78) Ibid. III. 11. 85.
 (79) Maha. III. 104. 2—5.
 (80) Ibid. III. 104. 2—5.
 (81) Ibid. III. 104. 6.
 (82) Ibid. III. 104. 7. 8.
 (83) Ibid. III. 104. 9. 10.
 (84) Ibid. III. 104. 9—10.
 (85) Ibid. III. 104. 11.
 (86) Ibid. III. 104. 12—13.
 (87) Ibid. III. 104. 14.
 (88) Ibid. III. 101. 18.
 (89) Ibid. III. 101. 1.
 (90) Ibid. III. 102. 2—5.
 (91) Ibid. III. 102. 18—19.
 (92) Ibid. III. 103. 7—9.
 (93) Ibid. III. 103. 10—11.
 (94) Ibid. III. 104. 19.
 (95) Ibid. III. 104. 20.
 (96) Ibid. 105. 3—4.
 (97) Ibid. III. 180. 14.
 (98) Ibid. III. 180. 12.
 (99) Ibid. III. 180. 13.
 (100) Ibid. III. 180. 14.
 (101) Ra. XIII. 36.
 (102) Susrut. 6. 45—46.
 (103) Bha. VI. 18. 5; Br. IV. 5, 38; Matsya. 61. 21—31; 201. 29; 102. 1.
 (104) Br. III. 50. 53; Matsya 61. 17; 36—41; Bha. VI. 3. 35.
 (105) Ra. X. 3. 10, 52.
 (106) Ibid. X. 3. 10. 52.
 (107) Rama. I. 45. 15—17.
 (108) Ibid. I. 45. 18.

- (109) Ibid. I. 45. 20.
- (110) Ibid. I. 45. 24—26.
- (111) Ibid. I. 45. 27.
- (112) Ibid. I. 45. 28. 30.
- (113) Ibid. I. 45. 82—33.
- (114) Ibid. I. 45. 32—33.
- (115) Ibid. I. 45. 36—37.
- (116) Ibid. I. 45. 39.
- (117) Ibid. I. 45. 40—41.
- (118) Ibid. 45. 42—43.
- (119) Maha. I. 17. 27—10.
- (120) Ibid. I. 17. 9—10.
- (121) Ibid. I. 17. 11—12.
- (122) Ibid. I. 18—13.
- (123) Ibid. I. 18. 34—41.
- (124) Matsya. 349. 14 & 250—251 (Chapters). Visnu. I. 9. 80—111; Vayu. 23. 90; 52. 37; 92. 9; Bha. VIII. 6. 21—25; 31—32; Ane chapters 7—9.
- (125) Visnu I. 9. 80—111; Vayu 23. 90; 52—37; 92—9.
- (126) Ra. X. 10.
- (127) Ibid. 7. 35.
- (128) Rgved. I. 1. 22.
- (129) Ibid. I. 1. 22.
- (130) 2. 13.
- (131) Ibid. 2. 13.
- (132) Rama. I. 29. 19—21.
- (133) Ibid. I. 29. 19—21.
- (134) Maha. III. 272. 62—63.
- (135) Ibid. III. 272. 65—66.
- (136) Ibid. III. 272. 67.
- (137) Ibid. III. 272. 68.
- (138) Ibid. III. 272. 69.
- (139) 245—246(Whole chapters).
- (140) Bha. VIII. 18. 20—32 & 19—21 (Whole chapters).
- (141) Ibid. VIII. 18. 20—32 & 19—21 & Matsya 245—246.
- (142) Ibid. VIII. 18. 20—32 & 19—21 & Matsya 245—246.
- (143) Ibid. VIII. 18. 20—32 & 19—21 & Matsya 245—246.
- (144) Ra. VII. 35.
- (145) Maha. III. 272. 67—69.
- (146) Ra. X. 47.
- (147) Rama. VII. 26. 1.
- (148) Rama. VII. 26. 13.
- (149) Ibid. VII. 26. 14—15.
- (150) Ibid. VII. 26. 19.
- (151) Ibid. VII. 26. 21.
- (152) Ibid. VII. 26. 27.
- (153) Ibid. VII. 26. 32.
- (154) Ibid. VII. 26. 32—35.
- (155) Ibid. VII. 26. 39—40.
- (156) Ibid. VII. 26. 40—41.
- (157) Ibid. VII. 26. 41—43.
- (158) Ibid. VII. 26. 45—50.
- (159) Ibid. VII. 26. 52.
- (160) Ibid. VII. 26. 53—56.
- (161) Ra. VI. 85.
- (162) Rama. I. 42. 34—35.
- (163) Ibid. I. 42. 35—36.
- (164) Ibid. I. 42. 36—37.
- (165) Ibid. I. 42. 38.

- (166) Matsya. 12. 44; 121. 26; Br. III. 66. 26. 6; 73. 117; Bha. IX. 15. 3,
Visnu. IV. 7. 4.
- (167) Visnu. IV. 7. 4.
- (168) Ibid. IV. 7. 4.
- (169) Ibid. IV. 5—6.
- (170) Ku. I. 2.
- (171) VIII. 10.22—23.
- (172) V. 3. 5. 4.
- (173) Ibid. V. 3. 5. 4.
- (174) Maha. VII. 69. 1.
- (175) Ibid. VII. 69. 4—6.
- (176) Ibid. VII. 69. 10—12.
- (177) Ibid. VII. 69. 10—12.
- (178) Ibid. VII. 69. 13—14.
- (179) Ibid. VII. 69. 15.
- (180) Ibid. VII. 69. 16.
- (181) Ibid. VII. 69. 18—19.
- (182) Ibid. VII. 69. 18—19.
- (183) Visnu. I. 13. 9; 40—25; Bha. IV. 17—18 (Whole chapters). Vayu. 62.
Matsya 10. Padma I. 17; Br. 4.
- (184) Visnu. I. 13. 9; 40—95.
- (185) cf. Maha. VII. 69. 3; & Visnu I. 13. 48; Maha. VII. 69. 4 & Visnu. I.
13. 50; Maha. VII. 69. 9& Visnu. I. 13. 49.
- (186) Ku. II. 20.
- (187) Rgved. X. 23. 1—7.
- (188) Rama. VII. 84. 4—6.
- (189) Ibid. VII. 84. 6.
- (190) Ibid. VII. 84. 7.
- (191) Ibid. VII. 84. 9.
- (192) Ibid. VII. 84. 10.
- (193) Ibid. VII. 84. 11—12.
- (194) Rama. VII. 85. 4.
- (195) Ibid. VII. 84. 6.
- (196) Ibid. VII. 84. 7.
- (197) Ibid. VII. 84. 8.
- (198) Ibid. VII. 84. 9—10.
- (199) Ibid. VII. 84. 11—12.
- (200) Ibid. VII. 84. 13—14.
- (201) Maha. III. 100—101; XII. 211—282 (Whole chapters).
- (202) Maha. III. 100. 3—4.
- (203) Ibid. III. 100. 5.
- (204) Ibid. III. 100. 7—10.
- (205) Ibid. III. 100. 21—22.
- (206) Ibid. III. 100. 23—24.
- (207) Ibid. III. 101. 1.
- (208) Ibid. III. 101. 3.
- (209) Ibid. III. 101. 9.
- (210) Ibid. III. 101. 10.
- (211) Ibid. III. 101. 12—13.
- (212) Ibid. III. 101. 14—15.
- (213) Maha. XII. 281. 7.
- (214) Ibid. XII. 281. 8.
- (215) Ibid. XII. 281. 10.
- (216) Ibid. XII. 281. 13.
- (217) Ibid. XII. 281. 20.
- (218) Ibid. XII. 281. 22.
- (219) Ibid. XII. 281. 22.
- (220) Ibid. XII. 281. 28.

- (221) Ibid. XII. 281. 29.
- (222) Ibid. XII. 281. 30—31.
- (223) Ibid. XII. 281. 31—32.
- (224) Ibid. XII. 281. 42.
- (225) Ibid. XII. 282. 1—2.
- (226) Ibid. XII. 282. 3—5.
- (227) Ibid. XII. 282. 6.
- (228) Ibid. XII. 282. 7.
- (229) Ibid. XII. 282. 8—9.
- (230) VII. 56.
- (231) VI. 8.
- (232) Ibid. VI. 8.
- (233) VII. 1. 5. 7.
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- (235) 10. 1. 8.
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- (238) Maha. III. 142. 35.
- (239) Ibid. III. 142. 36—37.
- (240) Ibid. III. 142. 39.
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- (242) Ibid. III. 142. 41—42.
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- (244) Ibid. III. 142. 48.
- (245) Ibid. III. 142. 50. 56—57.
- (246) Ibid. III. 142. 58.
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- (248) Bha. III. 13. 18—45; Visnu V. 5. 15, Br. II. 19. 13; III. 36. 11; 72. 73; 8; Matsya 47. 43; 247—248 (Whole chapters).
- (249) cf. 'Yena dantagra vidhrita.....Varaha rupa.....Visnu. V. 5. 15 'Maha-varaha damstrayam.....Ku. VI. 8.
- (250) Ku. I. 21.
- (251) Maha. XII. 285.
- (252) Ibid. XII. 285.
- (253) Matsya 13. 14. 10; Vayu. 10. 27; 30. 41—75.
- (254) Vayu 10. 27; 30. 41—75.
- (255) Bha. III. 14. 35; IV. 1. 65—66; 2. 1—3; 3. 5—25; 4 (Whole). 7. 58. 62.
- (256) Matsya 13. 14. 10.
- (257) 'Yayater iva Sarmistha bhartur bahumata bhava' Sak. IV. 7.
- (258) Ibid. IV. 7.
- (259) Ibid. IV. 7.
- (260) Rama. VII. 58. 7.
- (261) Ibid. VII. 58. 8.. 9.
- (262) Ibid. VII. 58. 10.
- (263) Ibid. VII. 58. 11.
- (264) Ibid. VII. 58. 11—13.
- (265) Ibid. VII. 58. 15—17.
- (266) Ibid. VII. 58. 18. 21—23.
- (267) Maha. I. 78—85 (Whole chapters).
- (268) Ibid. I. 78. 4—6.
- (269) Ibid. I. 78. 7.
- (270) Ibid. I. 78. 13.
- (271) Ibid. I. 78. 14. 15. 23.
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- (273) Ibid. I. 78. 37—36.
- (274) Ibid. I. 80. 5—8.
- (275) Ibid. I. 80. 10.
- (276) Ibid. I. 80. 16.

- (277) Ibid. I. 80. 22.
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- (345) Ibid. I. 48. 26.
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- (1) Ku. VII. 44.
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4. 5; Par. Gr. Su. I. 16.
 (37) Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15. 1—4
 (38) III. 18.
 (39) Ap. Gr. Su. 15. 8—11; Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15. 4—10; Bau. Gr. Su. 2. 1. 23.
1; Bhar. Gr. Su. I. 26; Go. Gr. Su. 2. 8. 8—18; Hir. Gr. Su. 2. 4. 6—
15; Kath. Gr. Su. 34. 1—2; 36. 3—4; Kau. Su. 58.13—17; Man. Gr. Su.
I. 18; San. Gr. Su. I. 24. 4—6; Vai. Gr. Su. II. 15; Var. Gr. Su. 2.
 (40) Asv. Gr. Su. I. 15. 4—10; San. Gr. Su. I. 24. 4—5; Kath. Gr. Su. 34.
1—2; 36. 3—4; (Birth day) Ap. Gr. Su. 15. 8—11; Bau. Gr. Su. 2. 1.
23—31; Bhar. Gr. Su. I. 26 (10th day) Hir. Gr. Su. 2. 4. 6—15 (12th
day) Go. Gr. Su. 2. 8. 8—18; (After 10th night).
 (41) Go. Gr. Su. 2. 7. 15.
 (42) Ibid. 2. 7. 15.

- (43) Bhar. Gr. Su. I. 26.
 (44) 2. 4. 6—14.
 (45) Ra. III. 21.
 (46) Asv. Gr. Su. I. 17. 1—18; Ap. Gr. Su. 16. 3—11; Go. Gr. Su. 2. 9. 1—29; Hir. Gr. Su. 2. 6. 1—15; Kath. Gr. Su. 40; Kha. Gr. Su. 2. 3. 16—33; Par. Gr. Su. 2. 1; San. Gr. Su. I. 28; Bau. Gr. Su. 2. 4; Man. Gr. Su. I. 21. 1—12; Vai. Gr. Su. 3. 23.
 (47) Bau. Gr. Su. 2. 4; Par. Gr. Su. 2. 1; Manu. II. 35.
 (48) Ibid. 2. 4; Par. Gr. Su. 2. 1; Manu. II. 35.
 (49) Ra. III. 28.
 (50) 'Vrta Caula karma lipim samkhyanam ca upayunjit. Kau. Ar. Sa. I. 5.
 (51) Ra. III. 28.
 (52) Asv. Gr. Su. I. 19. 1—6; Ap. Gr. Su. 10. 2; San. Gr. Su. 2. 1; Bau. Gr. Su. 2. 5. 2; Bhar. Gr. Su. I. 1; Go. Gr. Su. 2. 10. 1; Par. Gr. Su. 2. 2; Man. Gr. Su. 22. 1; Kath. Gr. Su. 41. 1—3.
 (53) I. 19. 1—6.
 (54) Ap. Gr. Su. 10. 2; San. Gr. Su. 2. 1; Bau. Gr. Su. 2. 5. 2; Bhar. Gr. Su. I. 1; Go. Gr. Su. 2. 10. 1.
 (55) Garbhastame Brahmanah upaneyah... Maha. Bhas. Voi. III. P. 57.
 (56) Manu. II. 37.
 (57) Ap. Dh. Su. I. I. 2. 39—1; I. 31. 2; Manu II. 41; Va. is. Dh. Su. XI. 64—67; Asv. Gr. Su. I. 19. 8; Par. Gr. Su. 2. 5; Bau. Gr. Su. 2. 5. 16; Asv. Gr. Su. I. 19. 13; I. 20. 1; Ap. Gr. Su. II. 15—16; Bau. Dh. Su. 2. 5. 17; Par. Gr. Su. 2. 5.
 (58) Asv. Gr. Su. I. 19. 11; Bau. Gr. Su. 2. 5. 13; Manu. II. 43; Kath. Gr. Su. 41. 42; Bhar. Gr. Su. I. 2.
 (59) Asv. Gr. Su. I. 19. 11.
 (60) Ibid. I. 19. 11.
 (61) Ibid. I. 19. 11.
 (62) Ibid. I. 19. 11.
 (63) 2. 5. 7.
 (64) Ra. III. 29.
 (65) Ibid. III. 29.
 (66) Iii. 1. 2. 4.
 (67) San. Gr. Su. I. 28. 20; Manu. II. 65 (16. 22. 24 years respectively in case of Brahmanas, Ksatryas and Vaisyas).
 (68) Asv. Gr. Su. I. 18. 1—9.
 (69) Par. Gr. Su. 2. 1.
 (70) Ra. III. 33.
 (71) Ibid. III. 33.
 (72) Tai. Sam. VII. 2. 87; Ait. Br. 27. 5; Tan. Ma. Br. VII. 10. 1.
 (73) Tai. Br. I. 5. 2; Bau. Gr. Su. I. 1. 18. 9; Man. Gr. Su. I. 7. 5.
 (74) I. 71. 24; 72. 23.
 (75) I. 8. 16.
 (76) Cu. VII. 6.
 (77) Asv. Gr. Su. 16; Bau. Gr. Su. I. 11; Manu. III. 21; Visn. Dh. Su. 24. 18—19.
 (78) Asva. Gr. Su. 16; Bau. Gr. Su. I. 11. Manu. III. 21; Visnu. Dh. Su. 24. 18—19.
 (79) 2. 5. 11. 17—20; 2. 5. 12. 1—2.
 (80) Ra. VII. Ku. VII.
 (81) Sak. III. & V. 16. 24.
 (82) Ra. VI.
 (83) Vasis. Dh. Su. 17. 68—69; Bau. Dh. 5u. 4. 1. 13.
 (84) Manu. IX. 90.
 (85) 25. 42—41.
 (86) Ra. VI. (Canto).
 (87) Ibid. VII. (Canto).

Sources of Kalidasa

- (88) Ibid. VII.
 (89) Ku. VII. 72—88.
 (90) Rgved. X. 85. 8—9.
 (91) San. Gr. Su. I. 6. 1—4; Bau. Gr. Su. I. 1. 14—15.
 (92) Ku. VI. 78—82.
 (93) San. Gr. Su. I. 6. 5—6.
 (94) Ibid. I. 6. 5—6.
 (95) Ku. VI. 87—89.
 (96) Ibid. VI. 87—89.
 (97) I. 6. 5—6.
 (98) Ra. VII. 15—17.
 (99) Ku. VII. 70. 71.
 (100) I. 12. 1.
 (101) Ra. VII. & Ku. VII.
 (102) Ap. Gr. Su. 3; Ba. Gr. Su. I. 2. 1; Man. Gr. Su. I. 9; Kath. Gr. Su. 24. 1—3; San. Gr. Su. I. 12. 10.
 (103) Ku. VII. 72; Ra. VII. 18.
 (104) Ibid. Ku. VII. 72. Ra. VII. 11.
 (105) Ap. Gr. Su. 4. 8; Kath. Gr. Su. 25. 4; Par. Gr. Su. 1. 4.
 (106) 2. 1. 17—18.
 (107) I. 11. 4—6.
 (108) Ku. VII. 7—25.
 (109) San. Gr. Su. I. 12. 6—8.
 (110) Ku. VII. 25.
 (111) Par. Gr. Su. I. 4.
 (112) Ku. VII. 29.
 (113) Par. Gr. Su. I. 4; Ap. Gr. Su. 4. 4; Bau. Gr. Su. I. 1. 24—25.
 (114) Ku. VII. 75.
 (115) Ibid. VII. 75.
 (116) Ra. VII. 23.
 (117) Asv. Gr. Su. I. 7. 3 & I. 4. 3—7; Ap. Gr. Su. 5. 1; Go. Gr. Su. 2. 1. 24—26; Man. Gr. Su. I. 8; Bhar. Gr. Su. I. 13.
 (118) Asv. Gr. Su. I. 7. 7 & I. 4. 3—7; Ap. Gr. Su. 5. I; Go. Gr. Su. 2. 1. 24—26; Man. Gr. Su. I. 8; Bhar. Gr. Su. I. 13.
 (119) Ra. VII. 20.
 (120) Ath. Ved. 14. 1. 49; San. Gr. Su. I. 13. 2; Ap. Gr. Su. I. 7. 3; Go. Gr. Su. 2. 2. 16; Kha. Gr. Su. I. 3. 17—31; Hir. Gr. Su. I. 6. 20. 1.
 (121) Ibid.
 (122) Ra. VII. 21; Ku. VII. 76. 77.
 (123) Asv. Gr. Su. I. 7. 7—13; Par. Gr. Su. I. 6; Ap. Gr. Su. 5. 3—5; San. Gr. Su. I. 13. 15—17; Go. Gr. Su. 2. 2. 5; Man. Gr. Su. I. 11. 11; Bau. Gr. Su. I. 4. 25.
 (124) Ku. VII. 80; Ra. VII. 25.
 (125) San. Or. Su. I. 13. 4; Hir. Gr. Su.
 (126) Ra. VII. 24; Ku. VII. 79.
 (127) Asv. Gr. Su. I. 7. 22; Manav. Gr. Su. I. 14. 9; Bhar. Gr. Su. I. 89, Ap. Gr. Su. 6. 12.
 (128) Par. Gr. Su. I. 8,
 (129) Ku. VII. 85.
 (130) Ibid. VII. 85.
 (131) Asv. Gr. Sn. I. 7. 20; Par. Gr. Su. 9. 8; Oo. Gr. Su. 2. 2, 15—16.
 (132) Ku. VII. 88; Ra. VII. 28.
 (133) Ath. Ved. I. 2. 3. 4; 18. 2. 34.
 (134) Tai. Ar. III.
 (135) Ap. Gr. Su. IV.
 (136) VII. 17. 15.
 (137) Adi. 95. 65; 125. 29; Santi. 148. 10—12; Virata. 23. 8.
 (138) Ku. IV. 34.

- (139) Ra. VIII. 71.
 (140) Ibid. XIX. 54.
 (141) Mal. P. 99.

CHAPTER VII

Philosophy

- (1) Svet. Up. VI. 13; Br. Ar. Up. II. 4. 14; III. 4. 2; IV. 3. 15; Mund. Up. III. 1. 1; Mai. Up. II. 5; III. 2; V. 2; VI. 10.
- (2) Sam. Su. I. 16.
- (3) Ku. II. 4; Ra. VIII. 21; X. 38; Mal. I. 1,
- (4) Ra. VIII. 21.
- (5) Mal. I. 5.
- (6) Sam. Su. I. 61.
- (7) Kath. Up. I. 1. 11; II. 3. 7—8.
- (8) Gita. III. 27, 29.
- (9) Ibid. VIII. 18.
- (10) Ibid. XIII. 19.
- (11) Ku. I. 13.
- (12) Ra. X. 11.
- (13) Sam. Su. II, 1. 2.
- (14) Ibid. I. 161—162.
- (15) Ibid. I. 161.
- (16) Ibid. I. 162.
- (17) Ku. II. 13.
- (18) Sam. Su. I. 61.
- (19) Ra. XIII. 60.
- (20) Sam. Su. I. 87, 89, 100.
- (21) Yo. Su. I. 7.
- (22) Ra. X. 28, XIII. 60.
- (23) Yoga, Ra. I. 8; Pranidhana; Ra. I. 47; Yognah; Ra. X. 23; Yoga. Ra. XIII. 52; Pranidhana; Ra. XIV. 72; Ku. I. 59; III. 40; etc.
- (24) Ra. VIII. 22, 24; X. 23; XVIII. 33.
- (25) Ibid. VIII. 22.
- (26) Ibid. VIII. 24.
- (27) 'Yogah cittavrति nirodhah' Yo. Su. I. 2.
- (28) Ibid II. 29.
- (29) 'Desavandhah cittasya dharana' Ibid. II. 1.
- (30) 'Tatra pratyayaikatanata dhyanam' Ibid. III. 2.
- (31) Ibid. III. 2.
- (32) Ibid. III. 2.
- (33) 'Dhyana; Ra. XIII. 52, Ku. III. 48; Dharana; Ra. VIII. 18; Samadhi. Ku. I. 59; III. 40; V. 6, 45; Ra. XIII. 52.
- (34) Ra. VIII. 11—24.
- (35) Ibid. VIII. 14.
- (36) Ibid. VIII. 14.
- (37) 'Trayam ekatra Sanyamah' Yo. Su. III. 4.
- (38) Ra. VIII. 18.
- (39) Ibid. VIII. 19.
- (40) Ibid. VIII. 24.
- (41) Ku. III. 45—50.
- (42) Ku. III. 45 : Yoga Sutra mentions it as Virasna'. II. 45.
- (43) Ku. III. 45.
- (44) Ibid. III. 47.
- (45) Ibid. III. 48.
- (46) Ibid. III. 48.
- (47) Yo. Su. II. 49.

- (48) Ku. III. 50.
- (49) Ibid. III. 58.
- (50) Gita. VIII. 12.
- (51) Ibid. V. 13.
- (52) Ku. III. 58.
- (53) Gita. VIII. 3.
- (54) Ku. III. 50.
- (55) Ibid. III. 50, Ra. X. 23.
- (56) Ibid. III. 50, Ra. X. 23.
- (57) Gita. VIII. 8—11.
- (58) Ibid. VIII. 8—11.
- (59) Ibid. VIII. 11.
- (60) Ibid. VIII. 3, 11, 13, 21; XI. 18.
- (61) Kath. Up. II. 1. 16; Mund. Up. I. 1. 7.
- (62) Ku. III. 50; VI. 77.
- (63) Ku. III. 50; VI. 77.
- (64) Gita. XIII.
- (65) Ra. XIII. 6.
- (66) Ibid. XVI. 7.
- (67) Ibid. XVI. 7.
- (68) Ibid. I. 14.
- (69) Ibid. I. 14.
- (70) Ibid. I. 14.
- (71) Sak. IV. 1.
- (72) Ku. III. 72.
- (73) Sak. VI. 27 & p. 275.
- (74) Ibid. IV. 5.
- (75) Yo. Su. III.
- (76) Ibid. III. 16—50.
- (77) Ibid. III. 16—50;
- (78) Ra. VIII. 22.
- (79) Gita. 'Sthiradhi' II. 50, 54; 'Sthitaprajna' II. 50, 54.
- (80) Ibid. II. 55.
- (81) Ibid. II. 56.
- (82) 'Yato va imani bhutani jayante, yena jatani jivanti, yat prayanti abhisamvisantiti, tad Brahma' Tai. Up. III. 1.
- (83) Ibid. III. 1.
- (84) Kath. Up. I. 4—8.
- (85) Ibid. II. 2, 9.
- (86) Mund. Up. I. 1. 1.
- (87) Ibid. I. 1. 1.
- (88) Ibid. I. 1. 7.
- (89) Ibid. I. 1. 7.
- (90) Ait. Up. I. 1. 1.
- (91) Ibid. I. 1. 2.
- (92) Bhrgu. Valli. II. III. IV. V. VI. (Whole chapters).
- (93) Ibid. II—VI.
- (94) Ibid. VI.
- (95) I. 1. 2; I. 4. 7.
- (96) Ibid. I. 1. 2; I. 4. 7.
- (97) Vik. I. 1.
- (98) Ibid. I. 1.
- (99) Ra. X. 16.
- (100) Tai. Up. III. 1.
- (101) Ku. II. 6.
- (102) Ra. X. 19.
- (103) Svet. Up. IV.
- (104) Ibid. II. 44.

- (105) Ibid. II. 44.
- (106) Ku. II. 4.
- (107) 'Atma va idam agra asit'...Ait. Up. I. 1.
- (108) IV. 3.
- (109) Ru. II. 7.
- (110) Ibid. II. 7.
- (111) Br. Su. I. 4. 27.
- (112) Mund. Up. III. 1. 3.
- (113) Ku. VI. 67.
- (114) Gita. X. 25.
- (115) Ibid. X. 25.
- (116) Ibid. IX. 17.
- (117) Ku. II. 14.
- (118) Gita. IX. 16.
- (119) Ku. II. 15.
- (120) 'Yato vaco nivartante aprapya manasa saha' Tai. Up. II. 4. 9.
- (121) Ra. XIII. 5.
- (122) V. 12.
- (123) Ibid. V. 12.
- (124) Ra. X. 20.
- (125) Gita. IV. 7—8.
- (126) Ra. X. 31.
- (127) Ibid. X. 31.
- (128) Gita. IX. 8, 9.
- (129) Ra. X. 25.
- (130) Ibid. X. 25.
- (131) Gita. XI. 28.
- (132) Ra. X. 26.
- (133) Gita. IX. 27—34.
- (134) Ra. X. 27.
- (135) Gita. III. 22.
- (136) Ra. X. 31.
- (137) III. 4. 9.
- (138) Ra. X. 32.
- (139) Gita. XVIII. 67—68.
- (140) Ibid. XVIII. 67—68.
- (141) Vik. I. 1.
- (142) Mi. Su. I. 1. 2; 'A mnayasya kriyarthatvat'.
- (143) Ku. II. 12.
- (144) Ra. III. 69.
- (145) 'Yajna; Ra. I. 26, 44; VIII. 30; Ku. I. 17; II. 46; VI. 72; Adhvara; Ra. I. 31; V. 1; VI. 23; XI. I; XVI 35; Kratu; Ra. IX. 20; XVII. 80; Ku. I. 51; Satra; Ra. I. 80; Savana; Ra. VIII. 75; Sak III. 24; Ra. I. 82; VI. 38; IX. 21; X. 4, 51; XI. 24, 25, 30; XIII. 31; Ku. VI. 28.
- (146) Ra. I. 80.
- (147) Ra. VIII. 75; IX. 21.
- (148) Ibid. V. 1.
- (149) Ibid. V. 1.
- (150) Mi. Su. IX. 1.
- (151) Ibid. I. 1; 'Nityah Sabdartha samvandhah'.
- (152) Ra. I. 1.
- (153) Mi. Su. I. 1.
- (154) Ra. I. 1.
- (155) I. 1.
- (156) 'Sabdagunakam akasam; Tark Samgrah.
- (157) Mal. P. 99.
- (158) Ibid. P. 99.
- (159) Ibid. P. 99.

- (160) Ku. III. 52; Vik. III. 21.
- (161) Ku. III. 45—50.
- (162) Sak. V. 15.
- (163) Ra. VIII. 74.
- (164) Ibid. VIII. 74.

CHAPTER VIII

Grammar

- (1) Go. Br. I. 24.
- (2) Apisali (Ast. 6. 1. 62) Kasyapa (Ast. I. 2. 25) Gargya (Ast. 8. 3. 20)
Galava (Ast. 7. 1. 74) Cakravarman (Ast. 6. 1. 130) Bharadvaja
(Ast. 7. 1. 63) Sakatayana (Ast. 3. 4. 111) Sakalya (Ast. 1. 1. 16)
Senaka (Ast. 5. 4. 112) Sphotayana (Ast. 6. 1. 123).
- (3) Rama. IV. 3. 29.
- (4) Maha. Udy. 43. 6i.
- (5) 1. 1.
- (6) 'Sthanivad adeso...Ast. 1. 1. 55.
- (7) Ra. XII. 58.
- (8) 'Ino ga luni...Ast. 2. 4. 45.
- (9) 'Aster bhu...Ibid. 2. 4. 52.
- (10) 'Sthanivad adeso...Ibid. 1. 1. 55.
- (11) 'Apavado vidhir vadahka...See Com. on Maha. Bhas. III. 1. 45.
- (12) 'Na ca apavada visaye utsargo'bhinivisate, purvam hi apavadah
abhinivisante pascad utsargah, prakalpya ca apavadavisayam
utsargah pravartate' Maha. Bha. III. 1. 45; p. 91. Nirnaya Sagara
1937.
- (13) 'Apavada ivotsargam vyavartayitum isvarah ..Ra. XV. 7.
- (14) 'Apavadair ivotsargah krtā vyavrttayah paraih ..Ku. II. 27.
- (15) 'Na kevala Prakrtih prayuktavya na kevalah pratyayah' Maha. Bha.
I. 2. 3. 64.
- (16) Ra. XII. 56.
- (17) 'Kaki...Vaki...Raghi ..Laghi...gatyarthah. Pa. Dh. Path. Bhvadi.
- (18) Ra. III. 21.
- (19) 'Upasargena dhatvartho balad anyatra niyate . i.e.
Has=to laugh; Up+has=to cut joke; Vi+has=to smile;
Hr=to carry; Ap+hr=to snatch; A+hr=to bring; etc.
- (20) Ra. XV. 9.
- (21) Ibid. IV. 12.
- (22) Ibid. IV. 12.
- (23) Pa. Dh. Path. Bhvadi.
- (24) Ra. IV. 12.
- (25) Tap=Aisvarye. Divadi gana; Tap=Santape; Bhvadi gana. Tu ~
Dahe; Curadi gana.
- (26) Ibid.
- (27) Ra. IV. 12.
- (28) Ibid. II. 53.
- (29) 'Ksatrad ghah...Ast. 4. 1. 138.
- (30) 'Ayaneyiniyyah phathakhachagham' Ibid. 7. 1. 2.
- (31) Ra. XV. 6.
- (32) 'Satrun hantiti...Satrughnah.
- (33) Ra. I. 1.
- (34) Ast. I. 2. 60.
- (35) Ra. I. 1.
- (36) Samasa Prakarana .

- (37) Ra. I. 84.
 (38) Ibid. I. 67.
 (39) 'Siddhe sabdartha samvandhe'...Maha. Bha. I. I.I. & p. 47.
 (40) Ibid. I. 1.
 (41) 'Vagarthaviva samprktau' Ra. I. 1.
 (42) Ibid. I. 1.
 (43) Maha. Bha. I. 1.
 * Acharya Apisali maintains that they are of only three kinds, i.e. Jati, Guna and Kriya etc. Api. Si. 6. 6.
 Panini also endorses the same idea and excludes the Yadrccha word from the list. Pa. Si. 6. 5.
 The Nyasakara also holds the same idea and accepts only three kinds of the words. Nyasa. 3. 1. 1.
- (44) 'Catustayi ca sabdanam pravrttih; Jati sabdah, Guna sabdah, Kriya sabdah, Yadrccha sabdas ceti' Maha. Bha. I. 1.
 (45) 'Puranasya kaves tasya catur mukha samirita.
 Pravrttir asit sabdanam caritartha catustayi. Ku. II. 17.
 (46) Ibid. II. 17.
 (47) Maha. Bha. I. 1.

CHAPTER IX

Ayurveda

- (1) 'Kaumarabhrtyam astanam tantranam adyam ucyate.
 Ayurvedasya mahato devanam iva havayapah' Kap. Sa. p. 42.
 * The writer of the *Kasyapa Samhita*, Vrddha Jivaka, is supposed to be a sage of pre-buddhistic period, who was well-versed in the treatment of children.
 See p. 54 of the Upodghata 'Kasyapa Samhita' by Hemaraja Sarma. Nirnaya Sagar 1938.
- (2) Ibid. Sutra, Vimana, Sarira, Indriya, Cikitsa, Siddhi, Kalpa, Khila.
 (3) Cara. Sam. Su. 30. 22.
 * Original writer of the *Caraka Samhita*, Agnivesa is supposed to have been a disciple of Punarvasu Atreya and a contemporary of Dronacharya etc.
 See pp. 196—97 'Ayurveda Ka Itihara' Part I by Kaviraj Surama Chanda.
- (4) Susr. p. 2.
 * Susruta, the writer of the *Susruta Samhita* is considered to be the son of Visvamitra, who was a contemporary of Rama.
 See pp. 248—260 'Ayurveda Ka Itihasa' by Kaviraja Surama Chanda.
- (5) 'Kaumarabhrya kusalaih anusthite...Ra. III. 12.
 (6) Ibid. III. 12.
 (7) Susr. p. 2.
 (8) Ra. VIII. 46.
 (9) Mal. IV. 14.
 (10) Ra. XI. 26; 44, 59; XVII. 63; Ku. II. 38.
 (11) Ra. XI. 44, 59; Ku. II. 31.
 (12) Car. Ci. 25. 121—127.
 (13) Ra. VIII. 13.
 (14) Ibid. II. 32.
 (15) Ibid. II. 32.
 (16) Mal. p. 122; 'Tena hi damsacchedah purva karmeti sruyate.
 (17) Ibid. p. 112; 'Samprati Visavaidyanam karma'.

- (18) Ibid. IV. 4;
‘Chedo damsasya daho va khater va raktamoksanam, Etani dastāma-
tranam ayusya pratipattayah’.
- (19) ‘Dastamatram dasedasu tam sarpam lostam eva va. Upari aristam
vadhniyat damsah chindyat dahet tatha’. Car. Ci. 25. 247.
- (20) Ibid. 25. 33—37.
- (21) ‘Dahed damsam athotkrtya yatra vandho na jayate. Acusana
echeda dahah sarvam eva supujitah’. Susr. Kalp. 5. 4.
- (22) Ibid. 5. 3.
- (23) Car. Ind. XI. 25.
- (24) Susr. Su. 28. 5.
- (25) Ibid. P. 120.
- (26) Ra. VIII. 40.
- (27) Ibid. VIII. 40.
- (28) ‘Asadhyā iti Vaidyena atura iva svairam mukto bhavana tatra
bhavatyā’ Vik. p. 166.
- (29) Car. Vim. IV. 9—14.
- (30) ‘Vikaram khalu paramarthatah ajnatva anarmbhah pratikarasya’.
Sak. p. 95.
- (31) Mal. p. 58; ‘Daridra iva aturo veidyena ausadham diyamanam
icchatī.
- (32) Susr. Su. 34. 20.
- (33) Mal. p. 58.
- (34) Kas. Sam. pp. 177—188
- (35) Ibid. pp. 177—178.
- (36) Ku. II. 42.
- (37) Car. Ci. 8. 11. 26.
- (38) Ibid. 8. 2—8.
- (39) Ibid. Ind. 5. 5.
- (40) Ra. XIX. 48—54.
- (41) Ibid. XIX. 48.
- (42) Ibid. XIX. 48.
- (43) Ibid. XIX. 53. 53.
- (44) Car. p. 123.
- (45) Sak. III. 7.
- (46) Ibid. III. 22. f.
- (47) Sak. IV. 14.
- (48) Ibid. IV. 14.
- (49) Mal. II. 7.
- (50) Ibid. II. 7.
- (51) Susr. Su. 45. 71.
- (52) Car. Su. 30. 22.
- (53) Ra. IX. 75.
- (54) Ibid. IX. 77, 78, 88.
- (55) Sak. p. 54.
- (56) Ibid. p. 54.
- (57) Susr. Su. I. 6.
- (58) Ra. XIV. 28.
- (59) Car. Sar. 8. 3. 5; Susr. Sar. pp. 6—8; Kas. Sar. pp. 53—54.
- (60) Ra. XI. 60.
- (61) Ibid. XI. 60.
- (62) Susr. pp. 56—57; Kas. Sam. p. 56.
- (63) Car. Sar. 2. 23; 4. 17.
- (64) Susr. pp. 56—57.
- (65) Kas. Sam. 56.
- (66) Ra. III. 2. 8; Vik. V. 5.
- (67) Ibid. III. 28; Vik. V. 5.
- (68) Car. Sar. 4. 17—18; pp. 298—299.

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- (69) Susr. p. 13.
 (70) Ibid. p. 13.
 (71) Car. Sar. 4, 17.
 (72) Ra. III. 5, 6; XIV. 2. 45.
 (73) Ibid. III. 15.
 (74) 'Ghrtam nimbasya patrani mulam pusparam phalam tvacam. Aristam nama dhupo'yam aristam kurute ksanat'. Kas. Sam. p. 134.
 (75) Car. pp. 318—331.
 (76) Ra. III. 10.
 (77) Kas. Sam. pp. 222—226.
 (78) Car. VI. 1. 26—33; II. 11.
 (79) 'Ucita velatikrame Cikitsakah dosam udaharanti' Mal. p. 60.
 (80) Car. Su. 27. 203—205.
 (81) Megh. I. 13.
 (82) Car. Su. 6. 45—46.
 (83) Ibid. 6. 45—46.
 (84) Ra. IV. 21; XIII. 36.
 (85) Car. Su. 7. 29—30.
 (86) Sak. II. 4—5.
 (87) Ibid. II. 4—5.
 (88) Ra. IV. 75; IX. 70; X. 66; Ku. VI. 43.
 (89) 'Esa Aparajita nama ausadha asya jatakarma samaye bhagavata Maricina datta' Sak. p. 302.
 (90) Ibid. p. 302.
 (91) Ibid. p. 302.
 (92) Susr. Ci. 30 (Chapter).

CHAPTER X

Dramaturgy

- (1) Na. Sa. 20. 11.
 (2) 'Mukham Pratimukham caiva Garbho Vimarsas tatha. Tatha Nirvahanam caiva Sandhayo natake smrta'. Na. Sa. 21. 36. 'Arambhasca Prayatnasca tatha Praptesca sambavah. Niyata ca phalaprapthi phalayogasca pancamah'. Na. Sa. 21. 9. 'Vija Vindu Pataka ca Prukari Karyam eva ca. Arthaprakrtayah panca jnatva yojya yatha vidhi'. Na. Sa. 21. 22.
 (3) Ibid. 21. 120.
 (4) Mal. I. 1.
 (5) Ibid. p. 4.
 (6) Ibid. p. 4.
 (7) Ibid. pp. 6—16.
 (8) Ibid. pp. 64—68.
 (9) Ibid. V. 20.
 (10) 'Sutradharo pathen nandim madhyam svaram asthitah. Tatah padaih dvadasabhir astabhir vapyalamkrtam'. Na. Sa. 5. 136. 'Samkirno Nicamadhyamaibh krtah..misraviskambhakah'. Na. Sa. 21. 110.
 'Nityam Madhyamapurusaih acarito napi uddatta vacanakrtah. Prakrtabhasacaraha Pravesako nama vijneyah'. Na. Sa. 21. 113.
 (11) See *Malavikagnimitram*.
 (12) Na. Sa. 5. 156; 21. 113 etc.
 (13) 'Manyo Bhaveti vaktavyah kimcidunastu Marisah'. Ibid 19. 10.
 (14) 'Samano hi Vayasyeti...Ibid. 9. 10.
 (15) 'Namna Vayasyeti va Rajna vacyo Vldusakah'. Ibid. 19. 10.

- (16) Ibid. 19. 10.
 (17) Sak. Act. II.
 (18) 'Samanadhis tatha Sakhyo hala bhasya parasparam' Na. Sa. 19. 17.
 (19) 'Presya hanjeti vaktavya . Ibid. 19. 17.
 (20) 'Ayusman iti vacyastu Rathī Sutena sarvada' Ibid. 19. 11.
 (21) Sak. pp. 78, 84, 89 etc.
 (22) 'Rajan iti Rsihīr vacyah. Ibid. 19. 16.
 (23) 'Rajan arsma mrgo'yam na hantavyo na hantavyah iti'. Sak. p. 90.
 (24) 'Devanam api ye devah mahatmano Maharsayah, bhagavan iti te
vacyah' Na. Sa. 19. 3.
 (25) Sak. pp. 671, 725, 727 etc.
 (26) 'Dhirodatte Dhiralalite Dhiroddhate tathaiva ca.
Dhiraprasante pathyam yojyam tu Samskrtam. Na. Sa. 18. 30.
 (27) 'Karana vyapadesena Prakrtam samprajoyayet.
Aisvaryena pramattasya daridryena plutasya ca. Na. Sa. 18. 31.
 (28) Vik. Act. IV.
 (29) 'Nayikanam ca sakhinam ca Sauraseni avirodhini'. Na. Sa. 18. 30.
 (30) 'Vyasane ca Nayikadinam atmarakasusu Magadhi'. Ibid. 18. 42.
 (31) Vik. pp. 2-3.
 (32) Sak. p. 130.
 (33) 'Magadhi tu naranam caivantahpuravasinam'. Na. Sa. 18. 37.
 (34) Sak. pp. 531—548.
 (35) Vik. See Editor's note p. 83.
 (36) Kapoor Man(ari. IV. 10. 18; A Dance, An instrumental Music.
 (37) Vik. IV. p. 84.
 (38) Ibid. IV. p. 84.
 (39) Ibid. p. 84.
 (40) Ibid. p. 84.
 (41) Ibid. y. 84.
 (42) 'E�am Padasya Jamghayah Urvoh Katyastathaiva ca.
Samanakaranat cestah sa Carityabhidhiyate' Na. Sa. 11. 1.
'Ekapada pracaro yah sa Carityabhisajnita'. Na. Sa. 11. 3.
 (43) Ibid. 11. 3.
 (44) Vik. Act. IV.
 (45) 'Unmattasyapi ca kartavya gatisca niyatarkrama.
Bahu cari samayukta Lokanukaranasvaya'. No. Sa. 13. 131.
 (46) Ibid. 11. 14.
 (47) Ibid. 11. 14.
 (48) Ibid. 11. 35.
 (49) Ibid. 11. 35.
 (50) 'Kuncitam padam utksipy...Aksipta nama tad bhavet'. Ibid. 11. 35.
 (51) Ibid. 11. 3.
 (52) Ibid. 11. 2.
 (53) 'Dvipadakramanam yattu Karanam nama tad bhavet. Ibid. 10. 3.
Karnanam samayogat Khandam iti abhidhiyate'. Ibid. 10. 4.
 (54) Vik. IV.
 (55) Na. Sa. 4. 19—247.
 (56) Ku. VII. 91.
 (57) Ibid. VII. 91.
 (58) Ibid. VII. 91.
 (59) Ra. III. 52.
 (60) 'Alidha sthanakam kuryat. Na. Sa. 11. 65—67.
 (61) Ibid. 11. 65—67.
 (62) Mal. I. 5.
 (63) Ibid. I. 5.
 (64) Na. Sa. I. 107.
 (65) Mal. p. 44.
 (66) Ibid. p. 44.

- (67) Ibid. p. 44.
- (68) Mal. II. 6.
- (69) Ibid. II. 8.
- (70) Ibid. II. 8.
- (71) Vik. II. 17.

CHAPTER XI

Erotics

- (1) 'Kusuma sadharmano hi yositah sukumaropakramah, tastu anadhi-gata visvasaih prasabham upakramyamanah samprayoga dvesinyo bhavanti. Tasmat samnaiva upacaret'. Ka. Su. 3. 2. 6.
'Upakramamanasca an prasahya kimcid acaret'. Ka. Su. 3. 2. 5.
'Sahasa vapi upakranta kanya cittam avindata.
Bhayam vitrasam udvegam sadyo dvesam ca gacchati Ka.Su. 3. 2. 34.
- (2) Ibid. 3. 2. 34.
- (3) 'Asavandhah kusumasadrsam prayaso hyangananam'. Megh. I. 9.
- (4) Sak. III. 21; III. 22.
- (5) Ku. VIII. 8—9.
- (6) Ra. VIII. 7.
- (7) Ibid. VIII. 7.
- (8) Ka. Su. 3. 2. 34.
- (9) Sak. III. 22; Ra. VIII. 7; Ku. VIII. 9.
- (10) Ka. Su. 3. 2. 6.
- (11) 'Sarva eva kanyah purusena prayujyamanam vacam visahante, na ca laghumisram api vacam vadanti'. Ka. Su. 3. 2. 17.
- (12) Sak. I. 29.
- (13) Ibid. I. 29.
- \ (14) 'Sammukham tu na viksate. Ka. Su. 3. 3. 36.
- (15) Ibid. 3. 3. 28.
- (16) Ibid. 3. 2. 30.
- (17) Ibid. 3. 2. 20.
- (18) Ibid. 3. 3. 29.
- (19) Sak. I. 29; II. 11.
- (20) Ibid. I. 29; II. 11.
- (21) Ibid. I. 29; II. 11.
- (22) 'Tam cativadnim adhikspet vivadecca'. Ka. Su. 3. 2. 20-
- (23) 'Imam asamvaddhapralapinim Priyamvadam aryayai Gautamyai nivedayami'. Sak. p. 165.
- (24) Ibid. p. 165.
- (25) Ka. Su. 3. 2. 20.
- (26) 'Tat sthane ciram sthanam abhinandati, tam desam na muucati'. Ibid. 3. 3. 26.
- (27) Sak. II. 12.
- (28) 'Atmno gurujanat bhayam khyapayet'...Kam. Su. 3. 5. 18.
- (29) 'Natmanah prabhavami'...Sak. p. 112.
'Bhuyopi sakhijanam anumanayisyे'...Sak. p. 112.
- (30) 'Alam gurujanabhayena'...Ibid. 112.
- (31) Ka. Su. 3. 3. 18.
- (32) Sak. p. 112.
- (33) Ka. Su. 3. 3. 45.
- (34) Sak. II. 11.
- (35) Yada tu manyeta anurakto mayi na vyavartisyate iti tada eva enam abhiyunjanam balabhava moksaya tvaret'. Ka. Su. 3. 3. 45.
- (36) 'Atah pariksy kartavyam visesat samgamam rahah'. Sak. V. 24.

- (37) Ka. Su. 3. 3. 48; 3.4. 50.
 (38) 'Yam kameid ujjvalam purusam drstva stri kamayate, tatha puruso'pi yositam'. Tatra striyam prati visesah. Ibid. 5. 1. 8—9.
 (39) Sak. Act. I; Mal. Act. I; Vik. Act. I.
 (40) Na stri dharmadharma aveksate kamayate eva'. Ka. Su. 5. 1. 10.
 (41) 'Svinnakara caranangulih svinnamukhi ca bhavati'. Ibid. 5. 3. 16.
 (42) Ra. VI. 22; Ku. VII. 77.
 (43) Kam. Su. 3. 4. 41.
 (44) 'Adau paricayam kuryat tatas ca paribhasanam. Paribhasana sammisram mithas cakaravedanam' Ibid. 5. 3. 24.
 (45) Sak. pp. 148—152.
 (46) 'Sarvangikam cumbanam upakramet' Ka. Su. III. 2. 26.
 (47) 'Mukham amsavartti paksmalaksyah katham api unnamitam na cumbitam tu'. Sak. III. 23.
 (48) 'Urumula samvahanam ca'. Ka. Su. 3. 2. 28.
 'Urvosca upari vinyasta-hastah samvahana kriyayam siddhayam kramena urumulam api samvahayet..., nivarite samvahane ko dosah iti akulayed enam'. Ka. Su. 3. 2. 26.
 (49) 'Amke nidhaya caranau uta padmatamrau samvahayami, karabhoru yatha sukham te'. Sak. III. 19.
 (50) 'Urumbala samvahanam ca... cf. Ka. Su. 3. 2. 28; & Sak. III. 19.
 (51) 'Rasanaviyojanam nivivisramsanam vasanaparivartanam urumula-samvahanam ca'. Ka. Su. 3. 2. 28.
 (52) 'Cumbane parivartitadharam hastarodhi rasana vighattane. Vighnитеcham api tasya sarvato manmathendhanam abhut vadhu-ratam. Ra. XIX. 27.
 (53) 'Nabhidesa nihitah sa kampaya Samkarasya rurudhe taya karah. Tad dukulam atha cabhavat svayam duram uechvasit nivivandhanam. Ku. VIII. 4.
 (54) Ka. Su. 3. 2. 18.
 (55) Ku. VIII. 6.
 (56) Ka. Su. 3. 2. 18.
 (57) Ku. VIII. 6.
 (58) Ka. Su. h. 4. 31.
 (59) Ku. VIII. 9.
 (60) Ra. XIX. 35.
 (61) 'Sayana gatau eva uruvyatyasam bhujavyatyasamca sasamgharsam—iva ghanam samsvajete tat tilatandulakam'. Ka. Su. 2. 2. 18.
 (62) Ra. XIX. 32.
 (63) Ibid. XIX. 29.
 (64) 'Caranena caranam akramya dvitiyena urudesam akramanti vestay-anti va tat prstasaktaikabatur dvitiyena amsam avanamayanti va manda sitkrakujita cumbanartham eva adhirodhum icchediti Vrcchhadhirudhakam. Ka. Su. 2. 2. 16.
 (65) 'Sarvangikam cumbanam upakramet... Ibid. 3. 2. 26.
 'Sa kacagraham unnamayya mukham tasya tatoh pivot.' Ibid. 2.5.39.
 (66) Ku. III. 38; Sak. III. 23.
 (67) Sak. III. 23.
 (68) 'Saptni namagrhanam tad asrayam alapam vardhamanapranaya tu Nayika gotraskhalanam na marsayet'. Ka. Su. 2. 10. 26.
 (69) Ra. XIX. 24.
 (70) 'Sakacagraham asya asyam unnamayya'...Ka. Su. 2. 10. 30.
 (71) Ra. XIX. 31.
 (72) Ka. Su. 3. 2. 11.
 (73) Vik. II. 20. f. Mal. III. 22. f.
 (74) 'Mitrakrtym apadisyanya anyatra'; Ka. Su. 6. 3. 34.
 (75) 'Mitrakrtym apadisyanya parsvatah'; Ra. XIX. 31.
 (76) 'Svasru Svasura paricarya'. Ka. Su. 4. 1. 37.

- (77) Ibid. 4. 1. 37—38.
 (78) Sak. IV. 18.
 (79) Ibid. IV. 18.
 (80) Ka. Su. 5. 3. 2; 5. 3. 14; 5. 3. 22; 5. 4. 1; 5. 4. 30.
 (81) Ibid. & 5. 4. 10.
 (82) Mal. pp. 92, 94, 96.
 (83) 'Sthane pranah kaminam dutyadhinah'. Ibid. III. 14.
 (84) 'Jatanuragayam...sesajana visargah'. Ka. Su. 2. 10. 5.
 (85) Sak. p. 329.
 (86) Mal. p. 142.
 (87) Ka. Su. 2. 10. 33.
 (88) Mal. p. 106.
 (89) Ka. Su. 3. 5. 29—30; 3. 5. 18.
 (90) Sak. III. 21.
 (91) 'Karnapatram anguliyakam srajam va tena yacita dadati. tena ca dattam nityam dharayati...Na. Su. 3. 3. 30.
 (92) 'Tasyasca sabhijnanaih...Ibid. 6. 4. 33; Abhijnanam ca tat...6. 4. 34; Nayaka abhijnanaih upabrmhayet...5. 4. 30.
 (93) Ka. Su. 1. 4. 4.
 (94) Ibid. 1. 4. 1.
 (95) Ibid. 1. 4. 1.
 (96) Ibid. 1. 4. 1.
 (97) Ibid. 2. 2. 22—24, 29.
 (98) Ibid. 3. 2. 26. 28.
 (99) Ibid. 1. 5. 37; 3. 2. 13; 30, 31; 12; 3. 2. 3; 5. 4. 56.
 (100) Ibid. 1. 5. 7; 2. 3. 13; 3. 30. 31; 3. 2. 3; 5. 4. 56.
 (101) Mal. p. 70.

CHAPTER XII

Miscellaneous

- (1) Swami T. Tirtha. Intro. Cidgagana Candrika p. 1.
 (2) Cid. Ca. 305. 306.
 (3) 'Sanmargalokanaya vyapanayatu sa vastamasim vrttim isah'. cf. Mal. I. 1; Cid. Ca. 1. 2.
 'Rajanat prakrti ranjanat ca mam rajasajnam anubodhakarmanah. Cid. Ca. II. 65.
 Raja prakrti ranjanat. Ra. IV. 12.
 Besides, Kalidasa himself declares that he wrote this treatise;
 'Iha Kalidasa Candraprasutir anandani stuti vyajat...Cid. Ca. 3.
 'Kalidasa racitam ca pancikam. Cid. Ca. 305.
 Kalidasa padavim tavasritah. Cid. Ca. 306.
 (4) Mal. p. 124.
 (5) Ibid. p. 124.
 (6) Ibid. p. 124.
 (7) 'Devadeva Jagannath jagatam hitakaraka.
 Kenopayena bhagavan martyah sarpavisam jayet. Quoted by M.R. Kale. Mal. p. 125.
 (8) 'Srnu Devi pravaksyami yan noktam kasyacid'. Ibid. p. 125.
 (9) 'Udakumbhavidhanenam visam rajimatam jayet'. Ibid. p. 125.
 (10) 'Ghatam ekam samadaya mrnmayam cabranam subham.
 Kanyakartita sutrena vestanam tad gale caret. Ibid. p. 125.
 (11) 'Kosataki Agnikah Patha Surya valli Amrta Abhaya.
 Seluh Sirisah Kinahi Haridre Ksaudra sahvaya.
 Panarnava trikatukam Vrhatyau Sarive Bala.
 Kalkam esam kumaryasca rasena parikalpayet.

- Ghatantaram lepayet tena vahir bhagam tu dhupayet.
 Tadvan Madhuka madhuka padma kesara candanaih.
 Maunena jalam ahryta nadyas tamra ghatena vai.
 Tam ghatam purayen mantram imam uccarya yatnatah. Ibid. p. 126.
- (12) ·Om namah purusa simhaya namo Narayanaya ca.
 Yatha asau na**bh**ijanati rane krsnah parabhavam.
 Etena satya vakyena salilam ca amrtayatam. Ibid. p. 126.
- (13) ·Hastena tam ghatam sprstva Uttarabhimukhah sthitah.
 Etena mantrarajena jalam tad abhimantrayet. Ibid. p. 126.
- (14) Ibid. p. 126.
- (15) ·Pippalyo dhyamakam mansi khuparah kundurustatha.
 Panca valka varayasti nagapusaila valukam.
 Jivaka rsabhaka usiram sitapadmakam utsalam.
 Kumarya snataya kumbhe ksipet sameurnya Bhairavi. Ibid. p. 127.
- (16) ·Surasam arka vakusa sirisambuda nimbaikaih.
 Baddhakurcena tat toyam secayet satavarakam.
 Sarpadasta pradesam tu mantram enam pathan punah.
 ·Anurvanuja'.. Ityadi yavad romata harsanam'. Ibid. p. 127.
- (17) ·Visamukto bhavet jantuhs Taksakenapi damsitah.
 Apamrtyu vinasartham simcet sirasi manavah. Ibid. p. 127.
- (18) ·Sarpavadha prasamanam visaroga nivarananam.
 Udkumbhavidhanam te maya Devi prakirtitam. Ibid. p. 127.
- (19) Mal. p. 124.
- (20) ·Nagarjuna mahabaho vada me guhyam uttamam.
 Uraganam mahaghoravisavadhapakarsanam. Quoted by M.R. Kale.
 Mal. p. 127.
- (21) ·Srnu Vipra pravaksyami lokanam hitakamyaya. Nagamudra
 vidhanam tu rahasyam paramam sphutam. Ibid. pp. 127. 129.
- (22) ·Sapadapalamatreна suvarnena susobhanam. Nagam vidhaya
 matiman agni uttaranapurvakam. Ibid. pp. 127. 129.
- (23) Ibid. pp. 127. 129.
- (24) ·Iti pratisthaphita pranam sri nagam namaskuryat. Evam pranapratistham vai krtva nagam nidhapayet. Ibid. pp. 127. 129.
- (25) ·Udakumbhmukhe ramye patram tamramayam subham.
 Sarsapaih puritam raktasutra—vestitakandhare.
 Sthapayet daksahastena samsprsyam mantram uccaret. Ibid. p. 129.
- (26) Ibid. p. 129.
- (27) ·Iti mantrena abhimanya ca astottarasatam sudhi.
 Nagamudram tatah krtva pujayet samstuvit ca. Ibid. p. 130
- (28) Ibid. p. 130.
- (29) ·Tatah uddhasya tam nagam toyenanena secayet.
 Visam nirvisatam yati sarpadastasya tat ksanat. Ibid. p. 130.
- (30) Mal. p. 124.
- (31) II. 42. 2, 3; X. 165. 1—5; VIII, 47. 14, 18.
- (32) VI. 27. 2; XIX. 8. 2, 5, 6; 9. 8, 10.
- (33) V. 3. 6—12.
- (34) III. 2. 4.
- (35) I. 1. 8—10.
- (36) I. 3. 1—3; VIII. 23. 8—9.
- (37) XI. 59.
- (38) Rama. III. 23. 11.
- (39) Ku. II. 32.
- (40) Rama. III. 23. 15; VI. 53. 13; 65. 51; 96. 44; 108. 24.
- (41) Rama. VI. 4. 53.
- (42) Ku. III. 43.
- (43) Rama. VI. 4. 49.
- (44) Ra. I. 42; Mehg I. 10.
- (45) ·Tato vayuh sukhasparso virajasko vavau tada.
 Visvamitra gatam drstva Ramam rajivalocanam. Rama. I. 22. 4.

- (46) Ra. XI. 58.
 (47) Rama. VI. 51. 34; 108. 28; 30; 23. 4; 57. 37.
 (48) Ibid. 51. 54; 108. 28.
 (49) Ra. XI. 3.
 (50) Ibid. XI. 60.
 (51) Ibid. X. 3. 60.
 (52) 'Puspavrstih mahatyasit ..Rama. I. 22. 5.
 Vavarsa rudhiram devo Ravanasya rathopari...Rama. Vi. 108. 21.
 (53) Ibid. VI. 108. 21.
 (54) Ra. III. 14.
 (55) Rama. VI. 4. 48.
 (56) Ra. XI. 61.
 (57) Rama. VI. 53. 14; 65. 49.
 (58) Sak. I. 14; VII. 13.
 (59) 'Aho kim me vametaram nayanam sphurati...Sak. p. 161.
 'Juguha tasyah pathi Laksmano yat, savyetarena sphurata tadaksna.
 Akhyatam asyai guru bhavi duhkham, atyantalupta priyadarsanena.
 Ra. XIV. 19.
 (60) Mal. II. 4; & 'Api ca daksinetarat api nayanam me sphuraii.' Mal.
 p. 205.
 (61) Rama. III. 23. 16; 24. 7; 59. 4; VI. 65. 50; 96. 42.
 (62) Ra. X. 75.
 (63) Rama. VI. 57. 40; 78. 17.
 (64) Ra. XVIII. 11.
 (65) Megh. I. 60; II. 1.
 (66) Ibid. II. 5; Mal. I. 21.
 (67) Ra. XIX. 13; Megh. II. 25.
 (68) Ra. XIX. 5; Mal. p. 40.
 (69) Rtu, Sam. II. 1.
 (70) I. 60.
 (71) 'Aho Ragaparivahini gitih .Sak. p. 452.
 'Kalavisuddhayah giteh Svara-samyogah sruyate...Sak. p. 450.
 'Tatrabhavati Hamsapadika Varnaparicayam karoti. 'Sak. p. 450.
 Madhyamasvarotha Mayuri madayat' Marjana manansi. Mal. I. 21.
 (72) Sak. pp. 454—452.
 (73) Ibid. pp. 450—452.
 (74) Ibid. pp. 450—452.
 (75) Ibid. pp. 450—452.
 (76) Ibid. pp. 450—452.
 (77) Ku. VIII. 85.
 (78) Sak. V. 2.
 (79) Ibid. V. 2.
 (80) Ra. I. 39.
 (81) Ibid. I. 39.
 (82) Mal. I. 21.
 (83) Ibid. I. 21.
 (84) Ibid. I. 21.
 (85) Ibid. I. 21.
 (86) Ibid. I. 21.
 (87) 'Hasya Srgnaryoh karyau svarau madhyama pancamau.
 Na. Sa. 19. 38.
 (88) 'Sadja rsabhuu tatha caiva Viraraudradbhutesu ca. Ibid. 19. 38.
 (89) 'Gandharasca Nisadasca kartavyau Karune rase.
 Dhaiatascaiva kartavyo bibhatse ca Bhayanake. Ibid. 19. 38.
 (90) 'Tau Samdhisu vyjanita vrttibhedam, Rasantaresu prativaddharagam.
 Apasyatam apsarasam apurvam, Prayogam adyam Lalitangaharam.
 Ku. VIII. 90.
 (91) 'Udattasca ahudattasca svaritah kampitas tatha.
 Varna catvara eva syuh.....Na. Sa. 19. 43.

- (92) Ibid. 19. 43.
 (93) 'Arohi cavarohi ca sthayi-samcarināu tatha.
 Varna catvara evaite ... Ibid. 29. 19.
- (94) 'Arohanti Svarah yatra Arohiti sa bhanyate,
 Yatra caivavarohanti so avarohiti sajnītah. Ibid. 29. 20.
- (95) 'Sthirab svarah samah yatra Sthayi varnah sa sajnītah. Ibid. 19. 21.
- (96) 'Samcaranti svarah yatra samcariti sajnītah. Ibid. 19. 21.
- (97) Sak. p. 450.
- (98) 'Evam ca Druta-madhyā-vilambitesu ye varnah rasesu upapadyah.
 ·Tatra Hasya. Srngarayoh Madhyalayah Karune Vilambito Virā-
 raudra-adbhuta-vibhatsa-bhayanakesu Druta iti'. Na. Sa. p. 224.
- (99) Ibid. p. 224.
- (100) Ibid. p. 224.
- (101) 'Kramayuktah svarah sapta Murcchanastu abhisajnītah'. Ibid. 19. 28.
- (102) 'Gramah svarasamuah syat Murcchanadeh samasrayah.
 Sam. Rat. I. 4. 1.
- (103) Megh. II. 26.
- (104) 'Mayuri cardhamayuri tatha Karmaraviti ca.
 Tisrastu Marjana jneya Puskaresu samasraya.
 Gandharo Vamake karyah Sadjo daksina puskare.
 Madhyamascordhvagah karyah Mayuryastu svara ami.
 Na. Sa. 34. 118.
- (105) Ibid. 34. 1-8—119.
- (106) Mal. I. 21.
- (107) Na. Sa. 34. 119.
- (108) Mal. I. 21.
- (109) 'Gitam Vadyam tatha Nrttam trayam Samgitam ucyate'.
 Sam. Rat. I. 1. 21.
- (110) Prayoga; Mal. pp. 13, 17, 21, 24. I. 5; Prayogasiddhih; pp. 22, 32;
 Sastre Prayoge ca, p. 15; Prayoga vijnanam; Sak. p. 10.
- (111) Prayoga-pradhanañ hi natyasastram'. Mal. p. 16.
- (112) Ibid. pp. 14. 16.
- (113) Pancangikam abhinayam upadisyā.....Ibid. p. 14.
- (114) Cittaksibhru-hastapadaī amgaih cestadi samyatah.
 Patradiyavasthakaranam Pancangabhinayo matah.'
 Quoted by Kat. Mal. p. 16.
- (115) Ibid. p. 16.
- (116) Ibid. p. 15. Com of Kat.
- (117) Ibid. p. 16.
- (118) Ibid. p. 16.
- (119) 'Tadeva Chhalikam nama saksat yad abhiniyate.
 Vyapadisyā puravrttam svabhipraya prakasakam.
 Catur vidhabhinaya vat yat jatisvara sambhrtam.
 Srngara-rasa bhuyistam salayam Calitam viduh.
 Quoted by Kat. See Com. on Mal. p. 40.
- (120) Ibid. p. 40.
- (121) Mal. p. 16.
- (122) Ibid. I. 24.
- (123) Ibid. I. 24.
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- (126) Vik. II. 18.
- (127) Ibid. p. 138.

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